

JPRS 76617

14 October 1980

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 127

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AN ANALYSIS OF RONALD REAGAN'S CHINA POLICY

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 9, 1 Sep 80  
pp 60-61

[Article by Chu Sheng [2806 3932]: "Reagan's China Policy"]

[Text] When U. S. Senator Goldwater, in pursuit of the presidential throne, won the Republican nomination in 1964, Ronald Reagan, then only an actor in Hollywood, first went into politics and campaigned for him. Goldwater suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Johnson of the Democratic Party.

Goldwater failed because he was too conservative. Before running for the presidency, he even opposed many of the policies supported by Republican president Eisenhower and the moderates in Congress; therefore, how could he win the support of the broad voters? Again serving as a senator later on, he was a well-known leading figure of the ultrarightwing faction of the Republican Party and the treasure of Taipei.

Let us see how he, in the U. S. Senate on 6 August, interpreted Jiang Jingguo's announcement on holding an election at the end of this year. He said that Jiang Jingguo's move was "a momentous step for the Republic of China to stride toward a perfect and model democratic government." (Cited from CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY; not seen in other foreign press reports). Recently, he even denounced Beijing's criticism of Reagan's statements on the China policy as interference in U. S. elections.

The market for Goldwater's views is becoming more limited in the U. S. government and with the public. However, Ronald Reagan, a Goldwater protege of former years and a rightwing Republican, has been considerably edified, and even his advisers have close ties with Taiwan.

According to the WASHINGTON POST of 6 June, one of Reagan's important advisers is the head of a public relations firm in California. Some 2 1/2 years ago, he accepted an employment contract with the Taiwan authorities at a monthly allowance of \$5,000 to propagandize for Taiwan in America, including preparing statements for Reagan in support of Taiwan and against maintaining relationships with Communist China. The measure was endorsed by Reagan.

Taipei's ZHONGGUO SHIBAO [CHINA TIMES] of 18 June cited reliable sources in Washington saying that, if Reagan was elected, possibly he would send a personal representative to Taipei and improve U. S.-Taiwan relations, and that the representative would discuss with Jiang Jinguo such momentous issues as the sale of arms.

However, what produced the strongest reaction were Reagan's statements when campaigning for nomination in Detroit, Cleveland and (Michigan). He declared repeatedly that, if elected, he would resume "official relations" with Taiwan. Even though the point was not included in the Republican platform, Reagan remained his old self and held firmly to his own view.

Though the reactions of the U. S. government and public and of China, which was the party concerned, were unfavorable, Reagan's China policy remained vacillating and uncertain.

On the part of Communist China, Chairman Hua Guofeng and Vice Premier Zhao Ziyang in charge of daily affairs, when receiving U. S. congressmen in July, censured, without naming names, Reagan's campaign promises.

U. S. Undersecretary of State Holbrook felt that, if Reagan considered changing the relations with Taiwan, it would bring negative results to America's strategic position in Asia. He cited the newest public opinion poll which indicated that two-thirds of the Americans had a favorable impression of China.

General (Haig) (President Nixon's aide), former commander of NATO, whose views receive Reagan's serious attention, felt that the best way to protect the security of Taiwan was to maintain a good relationship with Beijing, and that, if Beijing felt that its territorial sovereignty was not under external threat, it would continue to tolerate the status quo of Taiwan.

U. S. Senate majority leader Byrd (Democrat) declared that Congress would block Reagan from resuming complete diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

In a didactic tone, he said: "As an individual running for the presidency, he may be ambiguous, unclear and uncertain of the issues, but once winning the presidency, he will become more steady and realistic in his thinking, because he will be dealing with the real world."

Never having dealt with the real world, Reagan encountered for the first time the setback brought on by himself. A comment in the British ECONOMIST said that, if Reagan wanted to become an Eisenhower, he must free himself from "Goldwater's shadow" in the mind of the voters. His foreign affairs advisers hurriedly defended their boss. His chief foreign affairs adviser (Ailun) said that at present there would be no change in the relationship with Communist China and indicated that the possibility of supplying non-offensive military equipment and other material to Beijing was not ruled out.

(Ailun) said that Reagan merely wanted to study the possibilities of establishing official relations with Taiwan but never thought of resuming diplomatic relations with it.

The chairman of the Republican platform committee (Tuoer) also agreed that there was no possibility of restoring the old relationship between the U. S. and Taiwan prior to Carter's recognition of mainland China.

The defenses failed to pacify public indignation. Thus, Reagan took his first diplomatic initiative on 4 August and announced that he was sending his campaign partner Bush and (Ailun) and others to the Orient. The group would arrive in Beijing on 20 August after visiting Japan, utilizing Bush's favorable status as the former chief of the liaison office in Beijing to intercede with Communist China. However, just when Bush started on his trip to China, Reagan again mentioned establishing the so-called "official relations" with Taiwan. JENMIN RIBAO promptly reacted and asked Reagan "not to miscalculate." Bush and (Ailun) again did their patching up in Tokyo and Beijing. Bush also said: Reagan and I both feel that the relations between the U. S. and China will continue to develop harmoniously. He denied that Reagan promoted "two China's," and even declared that the Taiwan Relations Act passed by Congress after resumption of relations with Beijing limited the power of the president and stipulated the non-governmental relationship with Taiwan.

Undersecretary of State Holbrook pointed out sharply that the statements of Reagan and Bush and (Ailun) were not consistent. Besides indicating Reagan's ignorance in foreign affairs (he never clarified the form of official relations), it also reflected the split on the China policy between the different factions in the Republican party.



However, unquestionably it is absolutely impossible for Communist China to permit the resumption of relations between the U. S. and Taiwan. Before the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, not that the then Secretary of State Vance did not want "to keep the cake and eat it," proposing setting up an embassy in Beijing and a liaison office in Taipei, but his proposal was rejected by Beijing. Reagan's manifestations this time only revealed his own vacillation on foreign affairs and the internal split of the Republican party, unfavorable to the election.

Naturally, Taipei jumped with joy over Reagan's early manifestations on resuming relations with Taiwan. However, with the changes in situation discussed above, it had to sober up and refrain from rashness, for fear of repeating a bad dream. Taiwan Provincial Chairman Lin Yanggang [2651 3152 3263] visited America from the end of July to the beginning of August, and observed, in passing, the election situation of that country. Upon his return to Taipei, he informed the reporters: "We will not support either side or any political party. The relationship between the U. S. and Taiwan is not determined by whomever that is the president, but by the people of the two countries." It was a strong indication that Taiwan had given Reagan up. The Taipei LIANHO BAO [ALLIANCE NEWS] also published an editorial stating: "Bush's explanations to Communist China easily make one realize that the Beijing policy of the future Reagan government will not depart from that established by the two Republican governments in the past, i.e., the policy of normalizing relations, which is actually the policy now in force." In other word, the Republican and Democratic parties sing the same tune.

This time, one can say that the Guomindang is more penetrating in its observations. Actually, campaign promises are often empty words. Didn't Eisenhower, before his inauguration, say that Eastern Europe would be liberated from the Soviets? Didn't the 1976 Democratic platform guarantee the gradual withdrawal of troops from South Korea? Those promises were never made good.

Naturally, if the Republicans win, the relationship between the U. S. and Taiwan will probably improve. Reagan may possibly utilize the Taiwan Relations Act to reinforce the tie between the two sides, such as facilitating, by means of semi-official status, the dealings of Taiwan representatives with the various departments of the U. S. federal government.

Meanwhile, the amount of arms sold by the U. S. to Taiwan may possibly increase greatly with Reagan's assumption of power. In 1979, after the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the U. S., the U. S. sold \$800 million in arms to Taiwan in 1 year. In the first half of this year, the U. S. Congress approved the sale of



\$280 million in arms to Taiwan, and the U. S. government permitted (General Dynamics) and the (Northrop Aircraft) to discuss with Taiwan the sale of advanced FX warplanes. All such measures were openly opposed by Communist China.

The financial concerns in the west and the south backing Reagan all possess colossal arms industries. (California and Texas are the largest arms production bases in America, occupying first and second positions in military orders). They hope to further develop the arms market in Taiwan through Reagan.

However, even if Reagan is elected, just how far he will go in his Taiwan policy will still have to depend on how he balances the Taiwan issue with the entire international strategy.

In his new book ("Real War,") former U. S. President Nixon pointed out: "China's direction is primarily determined by Beijing, but also by the U. S. The Chinese leaders are primarily concerned over China's survival. Thus, they must effectively resist the Soviet threat. Under this situation, the U. S. must win China's trust, making it feel that the U. S. is a long-range reliable and powerful friend. If America's conduct makes China feel that it is unreliable, it will influence China's direction and its attitude toward the Soviet Union."

One believes that probably no U. S. president will destroy the world balance of power just to please a handful of rightists.

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CSO: 4005

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PROBLEMS FACING UNGA SESSION DISCUSSED

HK261515 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 15 Sep 80 p 2

"Political Talk" column by Shih Chun-yu: "The 35th UN General Assembly Will Be Facing the Same Old Problems"]

#### [Excerpts] The Secretary General's Report

The 35th UN General Assembly will open in New York on 16 September. On the day before the opening of the General Assembly, the UN Secretary General Waldheim made a report on the work of the UN, introducing its activities over the last 1 year.

The report was 25 pages long. On the whole, it admitted that the UN had not fulfilled its tasks in the past 1 year in disarmament and in settling various international disputes. Let's not discuss disarmament since it is a same old problem and nothing has been done about it for a number of years. However, it is a fact that the UN cannot curb the expansion and invasion of great and small hegemonists despite strenuous efforts.

On the other hand, the report expressed worry about the current worldwide arms expansion and called for the governments and peoples attention to this tendency.

#### A Pessimistic Attitude Toward the Future World Situation

The report carried a pessimistic attitude toward the future world situation. It demanded cooperation of all countries but it did not point out what were the roots of the disasters. The problems in Afghanistan and Kampuchea are related because both have life-and-death struggles taking place. On these two issues the UN has held two assemblies and passed resolutions by overwhelming majorities, demanding that the Soviet Union and Vietnam unconditionally withdraw all their forces. However, both the Soviet Union and Vietnam ignored those resolutions of the UN General Assembly and continued their invasion into these two sovereign states. Israel has repeatedly sent troops to invade Southern Lebanon and even

declared its annexation of East Jerusalem and proclaimed Jerusalem as its capital. Because of this, the UN issued several warnings to Israel. But what was the result?

Regarding the delignment of hostages in Iran for over 9 months, the UN has made every effort to reach a settlement. The UN secretary general even went to Tehran in the hope of mediating. However, the hostages have not yet been released.

Nowadays, it is not just the superpowers who ignore international morality and justice and pay no attention to the UN resolution. But some small countries have begun to do so for the sake of their own petty interests. And the very existence of the UN is in question at present.

#### Minor Achievements of the UN

The UN has fulfilled quite a number of tasks. However, it has been weak in dealing with the most important--safeguarding world peace.

It is a fact that arms expansion exists. The Soviet Union is the chief culprit that has led the world on to this dangerous path in the past few years. Its invasion of Afghanistan is an important step in pushing its global strategy and building up a fortified base to plunder the Middle East oil. For this reason, the United States and Western Europe began to strengthen military defenses to meet the next move of the "Polar Bear." Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea has forced the Asean nations to strengthen their forces. It is obvious that it was the hegemonists such as the Soviet Union and Vietnam that began this worldwide arms race.

#### Rebuild Prestige of the UN

The UN General Assembly will open soon. The problems that they will face in the coming year will be the same old problems. The UN will not be able to rebuild its prestige until it finds a way to curb Soviet and Vietnamese aggressions. It seems that all countries should consider how to strengthen the UN as an organization in order to maintain world peace.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

MEXICAN TEAM IN WUHAN--A Mexican football team consisting of 27 members arrived in Wuhan today. They will meet the Hubei football team at 1930 today. This is a championship Mexican football team. They are in China at the invitation of the China Football Association. They have had matches in Beijing, Tianjin, Shaanxi and Sichuan. Today's match is their last one before leaving for home. [K300248 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Sep 80]

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### LIU SHAOQI'S DOWNFALL, IMPRISONMENT DESCRIBED

Hong Kong ZHENGMING [CONTEND] in Chinese No 35, 1 Sep 80 pp 44-47

[Article by Liu Ying (2692 3851): "The Last Talk Between Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi"]

[Text] The portrait of Mao Zedong in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing has been quietly taken down, and the New China book store has begun anew selling the works of Liu Shaoqi. The true faces of these two big bosses of the Chinese communists are being restored bit by bit, while the secrets and ugliness covered up by the Cultural Revolution are being slowly uncovered. Although the work of restoration and revelation is proceeding very slowly and not at all thoroughly, the people can nevertheless see, through certain crevices, some of the true pictures.

Liu Shaoqi did not know before-hand about the Hongzhou Conference to set the Cultural Revolution in motion and to purge Liu Shaoqi and the others--that was a plan that had long been nurtured but never disclosed by Mao Zedong. Naturally Liu Shaoqi, having been kept in the dark, could not have known about it. However, indications of certain events did arouse Liu Shaoqi's suspicion.

In April 1966, upon his return to Yunnan at the conclusion of his visit to Burma, Liu Shaoqi suddenly received a long-distance telephone call from Zhou Enlai, saying that the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee had already begun an enlarged meeting in Hongzhou. Hearing this, Liu Shaoqi was rather puzzled. After all, he was the vice-chairman of the Party Central Committee. Why then had he not had the slightest inkling that such a meeting was to be held?

The Hongzhou meeting was a very important meeting in the history of the Cultural Revolution. In that meeting, individuals like Peng Zhen (1756 6297) were singled out by name for criticism, and the "Programmatic Document of the Cultural Revolution" was formulated (Circular of 16 May). In fact, that conference was a conference for the "Declaration of War" for Mao Zedong to set the Cultural Revolution in motion. But, from the very beginning, Liu Shaoqi had been quietly kept in the dark.

## Liu's Sleeping Pills and Mao's Telephone Calls

Factually speaking, Liu Shaoqi did not have any aggression or animosity toward Mao Zedong. Prior to the Seventh Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong's prestige in the party was not terribly high. Liu Shaoqi did his best to help establish Mao's prestige and power. Among the high level cadres of the Chinese Communist Party, Liu worked the hardest. Then, the Seventh Congress was convened in which Mao Zedong's prestige and power were duly established. So, Liu Shaoqi figured that his goal had been realized and, therefore, no longer pushed this goal. Liu Shaoqi's daughter said the following during the Cultural Revolution: "Whenever he (Liu Shaoqi) was asked why he did not hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought, as my younger sister later told, he answered that, 'Before the Seventh Congress, Mao Zedong's absolute prestige had not been established but became established after the Seventh Congress. Before it had been established, great effort had to be taken to establish it; but once it had been established, it was a reality, no matter what the people said.'" It is obvious that Liu Shaoqi worked much toward the establishment of Mao Zedong's prestige.

The respect Liu Shaoqi had for Mao Zedong could also be seen from certain events in his daily life.

Ordinarily Liu Shaoqi would fall asleep only after having taken sleeping pills twice. After the first, and milder, dosage of sleeping pills, he would usually look through some documents and papers; then, he would take the second and stronger dosage. After this, he would go to bed. Before going to bed, he always told his secretary not to awaken him for any telephone calls, except for those from Mao Zedong. However, Mao Zedong always called at this time, because he was used to working at night and sleeping during the day. Therefore, he frequently telephoned to chat with people during the middle of the night or in the small hours of the morning.

Whenever this happened, Liu Shaoqi would always get up immediately, wash his face with cold water, make a cup of strong tea to wake up and go to see Mao Zedong without delay. When he came back he would get busy with the work that Mao Zedong had laid out for him. There was no way for him to go back to sleep. This happened often and Liu Shaoqi never complained.

## The Change in Liu Shaoqi's Thinking

But all political struggles have their own rules and regulations, and the loyalty to friendship can not eradicate the conflicts brought about by political contention. Very soon after the eruption of the Cultural Revolution, Liu Shaoqi suffered his first fall at Mao Zedong's hands. It was over the question of dispatching work teams.

Mao Zedong, after having personally lit the fierce fire of Cultural Revolution in Beijing, left for an inspection tour in the south, leaving Liu Shaoqi to handle the daily routine. Liu Shaoqi had not the slightest idea as to how Mao Zedong wanted this Cultural Revolution to be conducted.

so he followed the regular pattern which had been used in the previous 17 years. In light of the experience with past political campaigns, it was customary to dispatch work teams. Hence, Liu Shaoqi dispatched work teams after having requested Mao Zedong's permission to do so.

However, when Mao Zedong returned to Beijing from the south in the latter part of July, he suddenly criticized Liu Shaoqi's dispatching of work teams as "oppressing and alienating the people." Immediately after, he wrote during the 11th Session of the All-China Party Congress of the Eighth Central Party Committee ("Shelling the Headquarters--My First Big-Character Poster,") that Liu Shaoqi's name had been moved down from number two to number eight in the name list of the Chinese Communist Party.

Since Liu Shaoqi could not understand the reasons for this sudden criticism and demotion, he was bound to grumble sometimes at home. However, due to his many years' trust and loyalty toward Mao Zedong, he still believed, out of habit, that he himself must have committed some errors. Therefore, he ordered his chauffeur, after the Eighth Party Congress, not to drive his car to the front any more but to take the eighth place in the convoy when ever he was riding among the other leaders. At the same time, during the work conference of the Party Central Committee held in October, he made a sincere self-examination and genuinely believed that this self-examination would meet with the understanding of the other party leaders.

But, things did not go the way he had imagined. When the "January Storm" came in 1967, conditions had already changed to such a degree that it was even harder for him to understand the situation--almost all the responsible cadres of all the provinces were criticized and purged; and more and more people were struck and fell. Liu Shaoqi's faith also faltered. In a letter to Mao Zedong, he expressed two opinions: "1. The responsibility for taking the wrong line this time lies with me. The broad cadres are good, especially those old cadres who are the valuable assets of the party. I take the major responsibility. So, set the cadres free as soon as possible, so that the party will not sustain too much damage. 2. I will resign from the positions of chairmanship of the People's Republic of China, of the standing committee of the Party Central Committee and of the editorial committee (for "The Selected Works of Mao Zedong.") I will take my wife and children to Yenan or to my native place to take up farming in order to end the Cultural Revolution at the earliest date and to spare the nation from damage."

By the time Qi Binyu's [2059 2609 5736] article "Patriotism or National Betrayal" came out, Liu Shaoqi's anguish of "incomprehensibility" had already turned to deep anger. Of course, his anger was not directly aimed at Mao Zedong but at Qi Binyu and the others who were campaigning for the "Party Central's Cultural Revolution." Qi Binyu's article was the first open criticism against Liu Shaoqi, though his name was not mentioned. Liu Shaoqi's children and those who worked closely with him questioned him about the "charges" listed in the article. He was very angry about these charges and refuted every one of them.



## The Last Talk in the Beijing Hall

After a few months of criticism, Liu Shaoqi's morale worsened. By then he had not seen Mao Zedong for a long time. He really wanted to have a good talk with Mao Zedong, but there was no chance.

In July of 1967, Mao Zedong suddenly notified Liu Shaoqi to come for a talk to the Beijing Hall in the Great Hall of the People. Liu Shaoqi was very happy and immediately rushed over.

In this Great Hall, Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi together had held many conferences. But this time, the two figures at the summit of the Chinese Communist Party were having their last talk.

The Beijing Hall is located on the upper floor of the Great Hall of the People, near a snack counter and the lounge. A carpet with a brown color design lay on the floor and there were brown sofa chairs arranged in a circle.

Sitting in the brown sofa chairs, Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi began their last talk. It lasted for one hour and 45 minutes. The atmosphere was amiable. On the way out, Mao Zedong even patted Liu Shaoqi on the shoulder warmly, asking him to read three books when he got home--one by Feuerbach, one by Hegel and another one.

Liu Shaoqi's mood was really good when he returned home from the Great Hall of the People. He was like a long-suffering patient who had suddenly received a dosage of a miracle drug. But this good mood did not last long.

Liu Shaoqi Looks Around for Wang Guangmei (3769 0342 5019)

Liu Shaoqi's home was searched on 18 th July. During this search he was separated from Wang Guangmei--his children had long been isolated from him.

Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei were under house-arrest, kept separated in the front and rear courtyards. Over the entrance between the two courts there hung a bamboo curtain. Each time Liu Shaoqi was let out for fresh air, he would stealthily peep through the curtain to see if Wang Guangmei was there. Ever so often, it happened that Wang Guangmei was also out for fresh air at the same time. He could see her silhouette vaguely.

On September, Wang Guangmei was officially arrested, taken from Zhongnan Hai, and imprisoned. Liu Shaoqi did not know about it and thought all along that she was still under house-arrest. So whenever he was let out for fresh air he would continue to look for Wang Guangmei through the bamboo curtain. But he could never see her. He thought: "Perhaps

Wang Guangmei is being taken away for sessions of criticism and purge." But he quietly wondered: "Why is Wang Guangmei not back yet?"

Liu Shaoqi and Wang Guangmei cherished each other very dearly. When Liu Shaoqi was struck down, Wang Guangmei was particularly concerned and did everything possible to take care of him. Many a bothersome development was taken care of by her. For example, whenever people came to search their house, it was Wang Guangmei who faced them. Again, when people came to pressure them for secret documents, Wang Guangmei held on to the keys, firmly refusing to unlock the safe.

Having not seen Wang Guangmei for a long time, Liu Shaoqi's morale became worse and worse and his emotional state deteriorated.

#### Mao Zedong's Written Instructions

When Liu Shaoqi was first placed under isolated house-arrest, Mao Zedong issued written instructions not to lower the standard of Liu Shaoqi's medical care or diet.

However, when the entire society was churning wave after wave of hatred toward Liu Shaoqi and when any behavior, although overly ultra-left, could appear legal behind the facade of the "campaign of the masses" or the "demand of the masses," even written instructions from Mao Zedong amounted to nothing more than a sheet of blank paper.

Liu Shaoqi's kitchen staff refused to prepare decent meals for him, giving him only hard corn bread to eat day in and day out. Originally, there had been a cook in Liu Shaoqi's house, by the name of Hao Miao. Before liberation, he was an apprentice for western cooking at the Cui Ming Cottage, where Ye Jianying [5509 0494 5391] had resided when the negotiations were going on in Beijing between the nationalists and the communists. After the liberation, Hao Miao was dispatched to Liu Shaoqi's house to work as a cook--and thus began 18 years of service. A very good relationship existed between him and Liu Shaoqi's family. During the Cultural Revolution, despite the fact that Liu Shaoqi received much criticism, Hao Miao still was devoted to him--heart and soul. This loyalty brought him great grief later, for in May 1967 (2 months before Liu Shaoqi was detained in isolation) he was imprisoned and kept imprisoned for 6 years. After Hao Miao's arrest, a new cook was sent over. This individual--perhaps because he had drawn a lesson from Hao Miao or because he was under the influence of the anti-Liu Shaoqi mood prevalent in society at the time--refused to prepare good food for Liu Shaoqi. Every day Liu Shaoqi was given only corn bread to nibble on.

#### Mystery of the Calabash-shaped Bottle

The medical care that Liu Shaoqi had been receiving also stopped. Liu Shaoqi had diabetes and had been receiving a certain Japanese-manufactured drug all along. After his house-arrest, this drug was no longer

supplied to him. When this medication was stopped, his hands began to shake so much that he was unable to light a cigarette. This was followed by other symptoms--cells in the brain began to deteriorate which affected control of his legs--all of which were treatable with medication. But these people were unwilling to let Liu Shaoqi have his treatments. Diabetics should eat more vegetables and nutritional food and fewer foods that contain much sugar and starch--but they just let him eat bread made of cornmeal.

The year before his death, Liu Shaoqi stopped talking altogether and refused to eat any food. Whether this was because of his physical weakness or because of his deep despair has become a mystery which followed him to his grave. After his detention in isolation Liu Shaoqi no longer had anybody with whom he could communicate. So who could have known the world deep in his heart?

When Liu Shaoqi refused to eat, the guards forced liquids into his mouth. His physical condition deteriorated.

He usually appeared restless and impatient, his two bony arms constantly stretching out, grabbing aimlessly in the air. No matter how the guards tried, they could not stop him. One day, when a guard accidentally pushed a calabash shaped bottle into his hands, he suddenly held the bottle tight and calmed down instantly. Later on, whenever he had his stretching out and grabbing aimlessly in the air, the guards would push this bottle into his hands. He always calmed down at once.

Why did Liu Shaoqi quiet down whenever he had this bottle in his hands? This is another mystery.

After Liu Shaoqi became rehabilitated and redressed, someone approached Wang Guangmei with this question. Wang Guangmei could not give an immediate answer. Only after a great deal of recollection did she remember that she had kept prickly-heat powder for the children in a calabash-shaped bottle. Could it be that this bottle made Liu Shaoqi feel again the affection of his children and the warmth of his home, and thus made him calm? This question can not be answered.

Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281] was the section chief for handling the "special case of Liu Shaoqi." So, the guards regularly reported to him all information on Liu Shaoqi's condition.

After 1968, Liu Shaoqi's illness became more and more serious. When Wang Dongxing heard about this, he said to the guards at once, "don't let him die but keep him in a state between living and dying, because when the Ninth Congress convenes, he can serve as a live witness."

Besides, Wang Dongxing himself went regularly to the house where Liu Shaoqi was detained. There, he would peep in from the outside, to see how Liu Shaoqi was getting along.

### Soliciting Liu Shaoqi's Opinion

In 1969, Lin Biao's "Strategy No 1" was put into operation. At that time, the supreme strategists of the Chinese Communist Party decided to transfer under escort all the highest level political criminals out of Beijing. Such criminals, of course, included people like Liu Shaoqi.

Before the transfer took place, the guards had tried to solicit Liu Shaoqi's opinion about it. But Liu Shaoqi, at that time, had not spoken for more than a year. Therefore a nurse wrote on a newspaper, with a piece of cotton dipped in ink, these few large characters: "Leave Beijing." "Consent?"

Liu Shaoqi opened his eyes and looked at these characters feebly. But, he neither nodded his head to indicate consent nor did he shake his head to object. He only turned his face to the side, signifying that he refused to answer the question.

Actually, in his situation it really made no difference whether Liu Shaoqi consented or not. His decision of staying or leaving would not have made any difference. As to the question of who had instructed the guards to get his opinion and why his opinion was even solicited in the first place --these, again, are two mysteries that have not been unraveled.

### At the Jin Cheng Bank

On 17 October 1969, Liu Shaoqi was transferred under escort to Kaifeng.

The Place where he was detained in Kaifeng was not a regular prison of the barracks of the Liberation Army, but the site of a former bank.

It was the Jin Cheng Bank during the nationalist days. After the liberation, it became the office of the Municipal People's Council. Within the large courtyard of the bank, there was a smaller yard, which, having none of its sides adjacent to the streets, was very secluded. Therefore, it became the special secret jail for Liu Shaoqi's imprisonment.

When Liu Shaoqi was first taken there under escort, 48 burly chaps were standing at the first gate and 26 more at the second gate. The security was certainly tight. The stretcher with Liu Shaoqi on it was placed in a small room at the southern end on the first floor of the west building. After 27 bed-ridden days in this small room, Liu Shaoqi quietly left this world. Then, his body was pushed into the vault in the cellar. When the guards were making the last check on Liu Shaoqi's body, they found that a thermometer was still under his armpit. This shows the lack of medical care given him.

Death put a stop to the suffering of Liu Shaoqi's flesh, but the injustice suffered by his soul could not disappear together with his flesh. Liu Shaoqi firmly believed that "history is written by the people"; in other

words, all the rights and wrongs in history have to be judged fairly by the people. Of course, this belief is correct in a broad sense and in the long-run. However, when the people want to record the concrete history of a particular period, they often find it impossible to do so for lack of inside information. Unfortunately, up till now, because of all kinds of "security" reasons, too little information in this respect has been made public by the Chinese communists.

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CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### WE MUST LOOK AT FACTS WHEN IMPLEMENTING POLICIES

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zhang Tao (1728 3447): "Only By Seeking Truth From Facts Can We Correctly Implement Policies"]

[Text] The party's policies are based on the premise that truth can be derived only from an examination of facts. Whether in practice or in theory, it is important to bear in mind the inherent relationship between implementation of the party's policies and the need to seek the truth by examining the facts.

The party's policies are formulated on the basis of the course of action which should be taken in order to follow the line and fulfill the mission set in a particular historical period. Like theories, planning, principles, and courses of action, matters of policy belong to the realm of thought. A correct policy is the true reflection of the world as it is and of the laws that govern it. It can be arrived at only by examining the facts. However, we still have among us some leadership cadres who are not concerned about finding out how a correct policy comes to be formulated. They only see the great impact created by the party's policy on the positive attitude and the creative power of the masses. They do not realize that this power is derived from the party's policy which is founded on actual facts and is a reflection of the basic interests and wishes of the masses. Some have the incorrect view that a correct policy and the correct course of action are not reflections of objective circumstances and of the laws pertaining to such circumstances, but that they are correct because they are formulated by the leadership. These comrades often confuse authority with truth by taking the view that "leadership and policy are one and the same." Because they do not bother to delve into the actual circumstances, they do not have the "facts" in hand and they do not use their heads to seek the truth. They merely rely on their own assumptions in providing leadership to the masses. By veering to the left and then to the right, they have dealt a serious blow to the positive attitude of the masses. Only by relinquishing our subjective views and seeking the truth through a careful examination of facts can we implement our policies in a correct manner.



In both the natural world and in human society, continual development results from the interaction of internal conflicts. A policy must correctly reflect objective circumstances and the laws pertaining to such circumstances. It must also be continually developed and revised to keep in step with changing objective circumstances. We must formulate our policies by taking into account the changes that have taken place as a result of changes in objective circumstances, so that our subjective views may be more attuned to objective circumstances. It cannot be expected that, once formulated, a policy will fully reflect actual objective circumstances, or that our subjective views will be perfectly in line with actual objective circumstances. This is especially true with respect to implementation of the four modernizations, because of very complicated circumstances. Some of our comrades do not have a clear understanding of this. When the party revises its original policy, or when it proposes a new policy to meet changing circumstances, these comrades, instead of looking at the actual circumstances and weighing the merits of the revised or new policy, quote statements made in the past in attacking and denouncing the revised or new policy as smacking of "rightism" or "revisionism," contradictory thinking, and indecisiveness in policy implementation. They are badly mistaken.

When a policy is in the process of being implemented, certain practices may be noted. There are those who try to get things done with "one stroke of the knife." Regardless of adverse conditions, and under whatever circumstances, they set the same standard and progress at the same speed. Some follow instructions to the letter, regardless of the consequences, as long as they are written on a piece of paper with a red letterhead or are handed down by the authorities. Others challenge, on grounds of special circumstances, the validity of the general guiding principles of a policy, claiming that the party's policy does not apply to them, or they take a lackadaisical attitude in implementing the policy. All these aberrations are the products of subjective and metaphysical ways of thinking.

According to dialectical materialism, contradictions, whether in general or in particular, exist in all objective situations. A policy is the embodiment of the sum of numerous concrete situations. It was Lenin, in summarizing the relationship between particular and general situations, who said, "A particular situation exists only as it relates to a general situation. A general situation exists only as it relates to and through particular situations. All particular situations (no matter what) are general, and all general situations are particular (a part, a phase, or by its very nature). A general situation is but the sum total of particular situations, and no particular situation can be fully covered by general situations, etc." ("Collection of Selected Writings of Lenin," Vol 2, p 213) It was Comrade Mao Zedong who said, "The relationship between the general and the particular and the absolute and the relative is the essence of the conflict between situations. Failure to understand this is tantamount to abandoning dialectics." ("Mao Zedong's Five Chapters of Philosophical Writings," p 75). Regarding the line of thinking described above, there are some who take into consideration only the general at the expense of the particular, and there are



those who arbitrarily overemphasize the particular at the expense of the general. They all fail to have a true understanding of the situation according to the rules of dialectics. They all have abandoned the line of thinking prescribed by the party--that truth can be arrived at only by examining the facts. They have all failed to implement the party's policies in a correct manner.

To correctly implement a policy, it is necessary to seek the truth by examining the facts, to give due regard to dialectics in assessing situations, and to understand that the formulation of a policy and the implementation of that policy involve a process of proceeding from the particular to the general and from the general to the particular. We should accept the fact that the party's policy is the product of the scientific abstraction of the sum total of numerous particulars and that, therefore, it should exert a general guiding influence. It should be understood that no single location or unit can cut itself off from the guidance of the unifying policy of the party. It should also be known that, while a policy has a general application, it is merely the sum of the essential characteristics of certain particular factors or parts of certain particular factors, and that it cannot embrace all the distinctive features of the particulars. In the process of implementing a policy, it is necessary to investigate and study the relevant factors in order to have a concrete understanding of a situation and to be able to propose specific measures which will meet the needs of a specific situation. The implementation of the party's four modernizations policy, for instance, is a reflection of the needs of the general situation throughout the nation. All localities and all units must therefore put construction of the four modernizations at the center of their efforts. However, different localities and different work units have their distinctive features. In the process of implementing the four modernizations, it is necessary to take advantage of one's strong points in adjusting, amending, reforming, improving upon, and heightening the process of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation, and improvement. The need to adjust is crucial, as can be borne out by the comparatively serious maladjustments in the national economy brought on by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In the implementation of a policy, we must not lose sight of the actual situation or follow orders as if by rote. Even those enterprises which have little or no responsibility for making adjustments should also pay attention to the need to introduce reforms and improvements. We should not, on the one hand, look upon the party's policy as a rigid model and try to ram it through without regard for actual circumstances, or, on the other, minimize its importance as a unifying guiding force. Under special situations created by different circumstances in different areas, we should not insist on absolutely complete implementation of a policy, nor should we ignore its existence. It is only when we take into account actual circumstances, act under the guidance of a unifying policy, and adopt flexibly the methods and measures most befitting the circumstances that we can effectively implement a policy. It is only thus that a policy can be put on the right track.

It should be said at this point that in the formulation or implementation of a policy, certain deviations and errors are unavoidable, in view of the limitations placed on the people by their different levels of knowledge, their practical experience, their reasoning power, and certain physiological factors, not to mention the complicated nature of objective circumstances. It is only when we seek the truth by examining the facts and make experience the only criterion in getting at the truth that we can discover our deviations and errors in time, find out the causes which give rise to such deviations and errors, benefit by learning from our errors, and adopt the proper corrective measures. After the adoption of a wrong policy during the difficult 3-year period, the entire party leadership, under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, was able to discover and correct certain errors within a comparatively short period by strictly adhering to the principle of seeking the truth by examining the actual facts. Following the 10-year havoc brought on by the ultraleftist line and policy, we were not able to take corrective action for a long period of time because we failed to seek the truth by examining the actual facts. It was only after Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had been smashed that the party's excellent tradition of seeking the truth by examining the facts was restored and corrective action was taken. The lessons of history tell us that a policy can be correctly implemented only when we seek the truth by examining all of the facts.

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CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### TWO DIFFERENT POLICIES, LINES ON CADRES DISCUSSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Hu Jilong (5170 1323 7893): "'Cherish' and 'Shield'"]

[Text] Cadres are valuable assets of our party, which is known for its long tradition of cherishing cadres.

The "guiding principles for inner-party political life" adopted by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is an important measure to effectively eliminate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who were guilty of undermining the party's fine workstyle and discipline, and to strengthen and improve the leadership of the party. The "guiding principles" also calls for looking after and cherishing cadres politically. Practice proves that only by conscientiously implementing the "guiding principles," daringly exposing their violators and firmly upholding party discipline can we rectify the party's workstyle, markedly improve the relations between the party and the masses and make party cadres more popular with the masses.

But it must be noted that at present, there are still some localities and units which have failed to thoroughly implement the "guiding principles." When a few cadres were criticized by the masses for seriously violating the "guiding principles," these localities and units have failed to defend these principles and carry out the ideological struggle for fear of irritating these cadres. Worse was the fact that they have done everything possible to defend these erring cadres and cover up their misdeeds until they could reduce such major issues to minor ones and minor ones to naught. Ironically, they called this "an act of cherishing the cadres." But the angry masses sharply criticized them by saying: "This is an act of shielding rather than cherishing the cadres!"

This criticism is completely correct. A clear distinction must be drawn between the two terms "cherish" and "shield." The term "cherish cadres" primarily means an endeavor to strictly educate them, to control and oversee their activities, to look after them politically, to allow them an opportunity to develop and increase their ability to serve the people, to take care of the daily needs of their families within the limits of our policy and

material conditions and to help them solve their difficult problems. The term "cherish cadres" also means criticizing and educating cadres in an appropriate and friendly manner or even reprimanding them in case they committed mistakes. The term "shield cadres" means tolerating and condoning their wrong ideas and misdeeds that betray the interests of the party and people. It also means defending their shortcomings and covering up their mistakes. When erring cadres are treated in this way, they will have no way of knowing their mistakes, or how to conscientiously correct them and teach other comrades to avoid repeating similar mistakes. Furthermore, shielding erring cadres will result in endangering unity between the party and the masses and damaging the party's prestige among the masses.

The reasons for shielding cadres stem from many factors. For example, some comrades who want to shield cadres contend that cadres who have already suffered too much at the hands of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" should be punished no more even if they committed mistakes. This idea apparently results from their failure to distinguish between the plot of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to frame false charges against the cadres and the present ideological struggle launched by our party to educate cadres through criticism and self-criticism. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and company dealt merciless blows to cadres. They framed false charges against those cadres who opposed them, and deliberately exaggerated their mistakes to the maximum so that they could sentence these cadres to death on charges of non-existent crimes. Their aim was to destroy our party's cadre system and to pave the way for usurping the supreme party and state power. Our party's longstanding policy is to teach erring comrades to correct their mistakes through serious criticism, and to help them grow in a healthy environment so that they will be in a better position to serve the people and the purpose of the four modernizations. The criticism launched by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" against cadres was aimed at "viciously punishing innocent cadres" to death while our present criticism is aimed at helping those criticized and "preventing them" from committing more mistakes. We should never confuse the former form of criticism with the latter. In dealing with cadres who have shortcomings and who have committed mistakes, we must persist in seeking truth from facts. When we hear anything wrong with cadres, we should check it out by seeking truth from facts. We should not mistake wind for rain, deliberately exaggerate their mistakes and regard their minor errors as serious crimes. It is absolutely unfair to punish cadres without going through a thorough investigation. But this does not mean that we cannot launch necessary criticism against those comrades who have really committed mistakes. Nor does it mean that we cannot openly expose those cadres who have made serious mistakes and have shown no intention of correcting them. Disciplinary actions must be taken against them. Party members must be highly disciplined. A clear distinction must be drawn between those who merit commendation and those who deserve punishment and between right and wrong. In other words, those who have made contributions to the party must be properly commended; proper punishment must also be meted out to others who have made mistakes. Only in this way can we continue to promote healthy workstyles and overcome baleful influences in our society, induce all party members to work enthusiastically,

and inspire party cadres to preserve their true nature as servants of the people. Some comrades are concerned that exposing others' faults in violation of the "guiding principles" may result in disrupting unity and may adversely affect their future working relations with them. For this reason, they prefer to make peace with everyone within the party whenever they detect any unhealthy trends affecting the normal inner-party life. Their philosophy is that the cultivation of "normal flowers" is better than the cultivation of "thorny roses." But we must understand that any that is not achieved on the basis of the party's principles will not last long, and anyone who wants to achieve rapport with others in this manner will end up being accused of cherishing and unifying them in a wrong way.

Some comrades want to "cover up others' faults" for the reason that they "are now riding in the same boat, and therefore should sympathize with one another." In plain language, they have committed similar mistakes, and therefore have no right to criticize one another. One of them once said: "If I am wrong, do I have any right to criticize others?" In response to this question, I would like to suggest that he need not fear drawing fire from others while criticizing their shortcomings and wrongdoings, and that he voluntarily place himself under the supervision of the party and the masses and welcome them to expose and criticize his own mistakes. I also want to remind him that gone are the days when the people could practice feudal factionalism and "quackery" which led them to share "glory and humiliation" together and deliberately cover up each other's mistakes and prevent them from being exposed. As for those comrades still obsessed with feudal factionalism, we must take necessary actions to patiently and carefully educate them until they can extricate themselves from such feudal factional shackles.

In short, the practice of cherishing cadres and that of shielding them have nothing in common. These two different practices serve two different purposes and will produce two different results. They also represent two extremely different policies and lines on cadres. In order to defend the interests of the party and people and to insure the successful implementation of the four modernizations program, we must improve the style in party relations; we must never mistake "shielding cadres" for "cherishing cadres"; we must courageously launch criticism and self-criticism against those comrades who have committed mistakes, and struggle against them according to the "guiding principles for inner-party political life." Everyone should be aware that any attempt to cover up mistakes and wrongdoings and condone wrongdoers would not be tolerated; it is wrong to tolerate the decadent practice in which officials are encouraged to protect one another in case of scandals.



## PARTY AND STATE

### YOUNG PEOPLE TOLD TO RELY ON, SUPPORT THE PARTY

Taiyuan SHANXI QINGNIAN in Chinese No 7, 1980 p 34

[Article by Ji Yongfu (0679 0516 1133), Central Party School: "How Should the Party's Leadership Strength Be Viewed?"]

[Text] It seems that the question on how the party leadership should be viewed is somewhat in a state of confusion. The reason for it is that the question is not viewed from all angles.

Does our party have the strength to lead the construction of modernization to success? Looking back on our party history, there were people during the period of the democratic revolution who wondered "how long the red banner could hold up." Chairman Mao firmly answered: "A single spark can start a prairie fire." There were some who said during the years just following the founding of the People's Republic: "The Communist Party is capable of fighting a war, but as for construction it is out of the question." In fact, we have not only crushed an old world but we are also able to build a new one. At present, we also hear some people say: "The Communist Party is pretty good at carrying out class struggle, but not at implementing the four modernizations." The views of some people have been changing since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially through practice since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Practice has proved or is going to prove that our party is capable not only of leading the democratic revolution to victory, but also of leading the cause of socialist construction to success.

On the other hand, we must not lose sight of the fact that to adhere to party leadership, it is necessary to improve party leadership. We must fully see and understand the problems which are within or which face our party. It is more comprehensive to look at these problems from a developmental point of view. Now we should say: "There are many problems in our party which are incompatible with the development of the situation or with the hopes and demands of the masses. At the same time, we must admit that the prestige of the party among the people is not as high as in the past. Following the shift in the focus of party work, we are confronted by many problems which are more complicated than in the past, and our mission is

more strenuous than in the past. That is why the party, at its Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, put forward the call to adhere to the party's leadership, improve the party's leadership, and raise the party's fighting power. It has also studied and resolved many important problems related to improvements in the party's organizational situation, and to the responsibility and system of the party's leadership. Documents such as the new draft amendment of the party constitution and the "Guiding Principles Regarding Inner-Party Life" are powerful weapons for greatly increasing the party's fighting power in order to adapt to the situation. The election of additional members to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the establishment of the Central Committee Secretariat are important policy decisions designed to better adapt to the needs of the strenuous work of modernization, to ensure the long-term continuity of the lines, principles, and policies of the party, and to guarantee the long-term stability of the core of party leadership. Moreover, the new party constitution raises the question of abolishing the existing system of lifelong posts for cadres. This is a farsighted reform based on the historical experiences and lessons gained from the international communist movement and from our own party. This reform is advantageous to implementing the four modernizations, and it will play an important role in improving the leadership system of the party. All of these [measures] indicate that the party leadership is becoming stronger and stronger by summing up experiences, drawing on lessons, and marching forward continuously. It is very promising to see that our party will lead our country to implement the four modernizations in an all-round way by the end of the century.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PAST 'MISTAKES' OF CCP HAVE BEEN CORRECTED

Taiyuan SHANXI QINGNIAN in Chinese No 7, 1980 pp 2-3

[Article by Zhao Yuting [6392 7183 0080], secretary, Shanxi Provincial Party Committee: "Unswervingly Follow the Communist Party; a Talk to Young Comrades on How Mistakes Committed by the Party Should Be Viewed"]

[Text] In the new long march toward the four modernizations, we step forward to greet the 59th anniversary of the birth of the great, glorious, and correct Chinese Communist Party. Over the past 60 years, the people of the whole country, under the leadership of our party, have achieved signal victories one after another, after having undergone many winding struggles and overcome numerous difficulties and obstacles. This shining festival is most memorable to us.

The history of the Chinese revolution over the past 59 years tells us that the Chinese Communist Party is a most revolutionary and most advanced party that represents the correct direction for developing scientific socialism and the basic interests of the masses of people. During the period of the democratic revolution, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the party, have carried out arduous and remarkable struggles, overthrown the "three big mountains" that had lain like a deadweight on the backs of the people of our country, achieved a great victory in the new democratic revolution, and founded a new China. From then on, the great People's Republic of China has stood like a giant in the East of the world. Since the founding of our People's Republic, our party has once again led the people of the whole country to rapidly restore and develop the national economy, smoothly carried out a socialist transformation, and achieved important victories in socialist revolution and construction, putting an end once and for all to our poverty and backwardness. All of these irrefutable facts are obvious to and strongly impressed on all of us. You young comrades have never experienced the hardships of the old society and do not have the specific feeling of the contrast between the old and the new social systems. I hope that you will consult your parents, your elder brothers, and revolutionaries of the older generation. They will be able to tell you how the working people of the old society were discriminated against politically exploited economically. They will be able to tell you how corrupt and incompetent the

reactionary rulers of old China were, and how the imperialists invaded and plundered us. They also will be able to tell you how, for a period of more than 100 years after the Opium War, advanced elements and people with lofty ideals in China, for the purpose of resisting the big powers, rejuvenating the nation, and seeking truth in order to save the country, experienced many hardships and shed their blood; however, they failed to alter the situation throughout their efforts. Only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party were the people of our country completely liberated. The historical facts show clearly that only the Communist Party can save China. This is an absolute truth which we must keep firmly in mind and be sure not to forget.

However, we now often hear that some young comrades say that, yes, the Communist Party is great, glorious, and correct, yet why did the party commit errors, especially major errors like those committed during the Great Cultural Revolution? Others even say that the Communist Party was great, glorious, and correct in the past, but it is not all that great, glorious, and correct now. One could follow the Communist Party in the past, but now he can't. Even though such a view is extremely incorrect, it indeed exists in the thinking of some comrades. Since the problem exists, we cannot evade it but must give it an explicit answer. It is true that our party has in its history committed a lot of mistakes and some greater ones, and serious mistakes which were committed during the Great Cultural Revolution were very distressing. Moreover, everytime mistakes occurred, they brought losses in varying degrees to the cause of the party and the people. Mistakes committed during the Great Cultural Revolution were the most severe setbacks since the establishment of the People's Republic. We should not avoid mentioning the problems that have already occurred. Yet one divides into two, and it is said that a fall in the pit, a gain in your wit. Mistakes and setbacks did not cause the collapse of the party, but instead, everytime we have experienced a mistake, we learned a profound lesson. The party's prestige has not been weakened, but heightened; the party's power has not been crippled, but strengthened. The experience of several mistakes committed in our history is like that, and the experience of the mistakes committed during the Great Cultural Revolution is also like that.

Our attitude toward committing mistakes should not be confined to realizing mistakes or admitting mistakes but, more importantly, to conscientiously analyzing the cause of the mistakes, finding ways and means to overcome and correct the mistakes, and knowing clearly the direction and target for marching forward continuously. Comrades know that if one wants to do revolutionary work, it is hard to avoid mistakes. There is nobody in the world who does not commit mistakes, except either before he is born or after he is dead. At the same time, it must be recognized that a political party is led by a group which is organized by the leaders, and a leader is not a divinity but a human being. Historically, all revolutionary parties and leaders have committed mistakes and the difference lies only in the levels of the mistakes committed. The causes of committing mistakes are many and varied. A concrete analysis should be made according to the concrete

situation. Some of the mistakes committed in our party's history were the result of a lack of experience or blindness in work. The socialist cause which we are carrying on is a great and entirely new one. A socialist system cannot automatically emerge from a capitalist base, and therefore it is very hard to avoid making mistakes. Some mistakes were committed because of subjectively taking an onesided view and not starting off from the actual situation in China, and therefore subjective desires were divorced from objective realities. Such mistakes can be avoided, but they often are difficult to avoid. Some mistakes in our history show that every time the ideology of [dialectical] materialism was upheld, no mistakes were made, but when idealism was dominant, mistakes were bound to be made. Becoming dizzy with success was another reason for committing mistakes. Mistakes are bound to be made when one becomes arrogant and complacent in the face of success. One of the important reasons of the mistakes committed by our party during the Great Cultural Revolution was that some of our comrades, even our principal leading comrades, after great successes in socialist revolution and construction, became arrogant and complacent in their thinking and thereby made a wrong appraisal of objective realities in our country, contrary to the actual situation. As a result, mistakes were made and great losses were suffered. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" utilized our mistakes in carrying out extensive counterrevolutionary sabotage which brought unprecedented disaster to the people of our country, thereby resulting in the most severe setback in the course of our socialist construction since the establishment of the People's Republic. However, even in the face of such severe mistakes and setbacks, our party never became disheartened, but always summed up experiences and drew lessons for marching forward continuously. Our party decisively smashed the conspiratorial clique of the "gang of four" with one blow boldly managed to bring order out of chaos on the front of political and ideological theories, and proceeded with a forceful overhaul and consolidation of the organization. Our party openly redressed large numbers of unjust, false, and wrong charges, including the serious false charge against Comrade Liu Shaoqi. The true features of Mao Zedong Thought have been restored and, at the same time, the serious distressing mistakes that occurred during the period of the Great Cultural Revolution have been openly recognized before the party and the people of the whole country, and corrections have been openly made. Thus, the prestige of the party has been heightened instead of lowered. The glorious image of the party, which was severely sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," has gradually been restored in the eyes of the people. Especially after the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee, on the basis of summing up the experiences and lessons of the Great Cultural Revolution, the party proposed a shift in the focus of party work; enacted and affirmed the political, theoretical, and organizational lines of the party; restored, perfected, and developed a series of party principles and policies; and adopted an eight-character policy aimed at readjusting, consolidating, restructuring, and improving the national economy. From then on, the party has gradually put the cause of socialist construction on the correct path of development. Practice in the short period of merely a little over 3 years since the crushing of the "gang of four" has once again proved that our party

is a party which is practical and realistic, serious about correcting mistakes when discovered, earnest and conscientious, open and aboveboard, and full of promise. Our party is a great, glorious, and correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party. We must firmly believe in it without the slightest doubt or vacillation.

Young comrades, you are the masters of new China and the principal force in implementing the four modernizations. The heavy historical responsibility of implementing the four modernizations falls on your shoulders. It is hoped that you will get a clear understanding of the situation, acquaint yourselves with the goals, and foster lofty ideals and a high ambition. You must still more believe in the party, love the party, support the party, and unswervingly follow the party. You must unite as one, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and together with the people of the whole country, look forward and implement the four modernizations in a practical way in order to dedicate your life to the struggle for building China into a powerful socialist country, accomplishing the four modernizations before the end of the century to achieve the bright future of communism.

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CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### CADRES ACCUSED OF VIOLATING LAW SENTENCED TO PRISON TERMS

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by the Party Committee of the Pingshan Commune, Zhuji County:  
"We cannot Under Any Circumstances Shield People and Affairs Which Violate the 'Guiding Principles'"]

[Text] What should we do with the violators of the "guiding principles," party discipline and state laws who happen to be members of the party leading groups? Should we do everything possible to cover them up or display courage to expose them? An answer to this serious question will spell success or failure in the implementation of the "guiding principles." We will never forget a profound lesson we have drawn from our experiences in this connection.

Not long ago, the former secretary of our commune party committee tried to cover up the misdeeds of Qi Xingquan [2058 5887 2938], former secretary of the party branch of the Feng Cun brigade, who was accused by a commune member of ganging up with many others in stealing the collective property--trees. After being reprimanded by higher authorities concerned for this wrongdoing, Qi Xingquan still showed no remorse for what he had done. Later, he was sentenced to 5 years in prison by a judicial organ for abusing his authority to launch a vengeful attack and framing false accusations against that commune member who exposed his crime of theft. We were not surprised to see Qi Xingquan punished according to the due process of the law. But what has surprised us is the fact that the former secretary of our commune party committee failed in his duty to take timely actions to educate and prevent his subordinate from committing that crime. We were also angered by his attempts to condone and cover up this crime. When Qi Xingquan was educated and criticized for setting up a private court to torture that commune member, the former secretary of our commune party committee continued to name and support him as the secretary of the party branch of the Feng Cun brigade, thus further emboldening and encouraging him to commit more mistakes and crimes. When our commune party committee assigned personnel to help the county judicial organ investigate the Qi Xingquan case, that former commune party committee secretary called it a miscarriage of justice



"dealing a fatal blow to a basic level cadre in the countryside." After Qi Xingquan was eventually arrested and sentenced to prison terms, the former commune party committee secretary wrote several letters to the higher authorities concerned, insisting on calling this judicial decision a mistrial. After committing this mistake, he created a serious situation in which the masses completely lost their confidence in the integrity of our party organizations.

This incident has taught us a profound lesson in a negative way: "Gone are the days when officials could protect one another and could cover up each other's shortcomings. Everyone should daringly struggle against bad elements and misdeeds, especially at a time when party cadres violated party discipline and state laws and committed mistakes. Practical experience shows that any deliberate attempt to shield erring cadres and cover up their misdeeds will do them great harm. No one should cherish cadres in this way." After learning this lesson, our party committee has made greater efforts to study and implement the "guiding principles," and to conscientiously examine our shortcomings and mistakes without fear of "leaking our family secrets to the outsiders." We have also placed our problems on the table for discussion by party members and the masses. Earlier, we found that some of our party committee members indulged in excessive feasting. As soon as this came to our attention, a special meeting was held for party members to openly criticize this unhealthy tendency. In order to stop it, our party committee has adopted a "15-point" regulation calling on all subordinate brigade party branches to thoroughly implement the "guiding principles" and place them under the supervision of party members. As a result, wastage caused by excessive feasting has been stopped. Since then, none of our nine party committee members has ever abused power by seeking jobs for their relatives and friends as they have done in the past. Nor has any one of them ever engaged in any "fraudulent backdoor deals for private gains," framed false charges in retaliation against the innocent, and lobbied for erring comrades in an attempt to cover up their misdeeds. Our experiences tell us that only by resolutely acting as models in observing and upholding the "guiding principles," and in serving the public interest, can our leading comrades bravely deal blows to all violators of the "guiding principles." Not long ago, a deputy secretary of the party branch of the Loujia brigade under our commune ganged up with one of its members and concurrent accountant in embezzling collective funds several times. Although some of our commune members had gathered evidence to prove this wrongdoing, they only grumbled about it behind the people's back, rather than openly bringing the two embezzlers to justice, for fear of reprisals. As soon as Lou Xianfu [2869 6343 1133], member of our commune party committee and secretary of the party branch of the Loujia brigade, received a report on this alleged corruption case, he promptly called his party branch into session to rectify the workstyle of party members and to call on commune members to expose the crimes of the two embezzlers. After this charge of embezzlement was proved true by auditors, the party branch of the Loujia brigade

ordered the two embezzlers to return the stolen money to the collective treasury. Later, with the approval of party committees at the higher levels, the party branch also took disciplinary actions against these two leading cadres. Commenting on this decision, party members and the masses in this brigade said: "as long as leading cadres at all levels strictly observe the party regulations and rules by treating every legal case with absolute fairness, our party can certainly revive its fine workstyle."

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM THAT MADE HAN DYNASTY STRONG RESTATED

Shanghai WEN WUI BAO in Chinese 15 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Li Konghuai [2621 1313 2037]: "The Selection and Appointment of Government Officials in the Han Dynasty"]

[Text] Although the centralized feudal bureaucratic political system built by Qin Shihuang, founding emperor of the Qin Dynasty, lasted only 15 years, it was adopted by the succeeding Han Dynasty as a basis for building a series of political systems of its own and for improving and perfecting these systems. For example, the system designed to select and appoint people to the government posts--an election system for short--was an important aspect of the government system adopted by the Han Dynasty, a system which had had a far-reaching impact on the bureaucratic politics of our feudal society which covered over 2,000 years.

#### Methods for Choosing Government Officials

"Every mode of production will result in a human relationship of its own and a specific form of government." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 2, p 91) The political power of the Western Han Dynasty emerged as a result of a series of peasant uprisings. After its founding, it attached great importance to the development of a system designed to select, train and appoint talented people to the government posts, along with other related systems. Shortly after Liu Bang came to power, he regarded the selection and the training of talented intellectuals as a necessary step in consolidating the political power of the landlord class. In the 11th year of his reign, he issued a decree, saying: "As far as I know, no ruler is more powerful than Emperor Wen of the Zhou Dynasty and no king is more popular than the duke of the state of Ji. But both rulers were heavily indebted to the talented officials for their successes. Are our talented intellectuals today not as good as their ancient counterparts? Certainly not. The problem is that the intellectuals will know no way of entering the government service if a ruler is unwilling to look for them and to keep them in contact. Today, with the blessing of the Heaven, I hereby declare my willingness to share this kingdom with all talented intellectuals and officials, along with a determination to make it live forever." It was this

guiding thought that led the Han Dynasty to pay great attention to the selection and training of government officials. The ways devised by the Western Han Dynasty to select and train government officials can be summed up as follows:

First, imperial selection: This was an important method adopted by the Western Han Dynasty to select and appoint talented intellectuals to government posts. Imperial decrees were issued from time to time for this purpose. Included in each decree was detailed information on subjects to be tested, numbers of vacancies to be filled, and required experiences and educational backgrounds, and where such tests were to be held. Men of letters and of integrity were selected by the emperors of the Western Han Dynasty to serve as their advisors and consultants.

Second, annual selection: each year, every province was required to recommend a specific number of talented intellectuals for positions with the central government. At first, each province was required to suggest only one best qualified person for a government position. Later, Dong Zhongshu [5516 0112 5289] suggested that two persons be recommended for government positions from every province. Aware that the population varied from province to province, the Eastern Han Dynasty entitled each province to choose one for every 200,000 in population with the exception of frontier provinces and minority regions which were entitled to special treatment. This was a method by which the central government could directly select talented intellectuals for official positions.

Third, special appointments by the emperor and Cabinet members: Beyond the aforementioned two ways of selection, emperors might deem it necessary to hire special talented professionals or experts to meet specific needs. For example, Shu Suntong [0647 1327 6639], a man of letters; Xia Housheng [1115 0166 5168], a specialist in ceremonial dresses; Shu Guang [3990 1639], a scholar concentrating on the study of the Warring States, were hired as advisors by the royal family. Among others so hired were mostly noted social figures, who were either directly hired by his majesty or recommended to the royal family by Cabinet members. Special envoys might be sent along with gracefully decorated carriages to fetch those highly esteemed and elderly scholars to fill special government vacancies. This was a special privilege and treatment accorded scholars of great academic achievements. Senior officials were also authorized to select and appoint scholars to government positions. But recommendations for posts which paid more than 10,000 litres of rice in kind a year had to be submitted to the central government for approval during the Western Han Dynasty. Until the Eastern Han Dynasty, this requirement was waived so that provincial governors and the Inspection General of the central government and other officials at higher levels could feel free to employ people as they wished. This was an important reform in the government employment system. During the succeeding dynasties, senior officials often recommended their pupils and former subordinates for government positions, thus forming complicated social relations.

Fourth, Appointment of Sons, Sale of Official Titles: "An official who earns a salary equivalent to 200,000 litres of rice or more a year can appoint one of his sons to an official post after completing 3 years of government service." This was a special privilege enjoyed by bureaucrats' children at that time regardless of their moral qualities and abilities. Commenting on this faulty system which entitled bureaucrats' children to assume the government positions without going through any civil service examination, some people at that time pointed out: "Officials born of the families with an annual income of 200,000 litres of rice are not necessarily competent to serve the people." During the Han Dynasty, there was a system under which official positions could be bought at a price. Although these positions ranked low and were not on the payroll, those who got them could wait for transfer to lucrative posts later on. Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty even opened government positions to experts in the martial art which could be bought and could change hands at specific prices. Until the Eastern Han Dynasty, the government raised revenue partly from sales of official positions as a way to solve its financial difficulties. No wonder corruption became increasingly widespread in the days ahead. Furthermore, good scholars, those skilled in the martial art, and rich men could also become officials if they so wished. Among others who entered the government service at that time were occultists, medical doctors, astrologers, and musicians. In short, the doors to the government service were wide open to those interested.

The aforementioned facts revealed a close relationship between the personnel employment system and politics in the Han Dynasty. When emperors Wen and Jing of the Western Han Dynasty and Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han Dynasty were in power, they welcomed people from all walks of life, including the poor, to join the government service, thus creating an important condition for developing production and for bringing about unity and stability in society. They believed that the practice of favoritism and nepotism in selecting the government officials was a key factor that led to political corruption and caused contradictions to sharpen in society. This belief was vindicated when the development of an unfair election system led to political corruption during the later stage of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

#### Examination and Employment

During the Han Dynasty, candidates for government positions were strictly tested and evaluated before they were employed in order to raise the political standards of government officials and to insure the normal operation of state organs at all levels.

In the process of recruiting new officials, each candidate's family background, occupation, experience, education, assets, physical health and complexion would be cross-examined by the authority concerned before he was selected to join the government service. During the early days of the Han Dynasty, the government required each candidate for public office to offer evidence that he was worth more than 100,000 yuan in property. In other words, the poor stood no chance of being selected to serve their country.

For example, Han Xin [7281 0207] was too poor to qualify for a government position despite his dazzling intellectual virtuosity. Critics of this system at that time said: "Rich people are not necessarily competent to serve the government." This system remained unchanged although Emperor Xiaojing changed the requirement for each candidate's property value from 100,000 to 40,000 yuan during the second year of his reign. During the Han Dynasty, businessmen, their sons-in-law who took the place of their sons and lived in their wives' homes, and loan sharks were banned from entering the government service. The government of the early Han Dynasty also adopted a policy to promote agriculture and suppress commerce. Under this policy, businessmen were prohibited from wearing brocade clothes and using carriages, and from becoming government officials, and were heavily taxed. This restriction on businessmen was not lifted until after Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty came to power, and the country was confronted with financial difficulties which forced the government to welcome contributions in the form of useful materials, grains, sheep and goats and female servants from the businessmen in exchange for government positions. Also welcomed to join the government service were those muscle men skilled in the martial art. Nevertheless, each candidate for public office had to undergo rigid training. "A pupil cannot graduate or apply for a government position until he can memorize and recite more than 9,000 Chinese characters and is well-versed in their applications." In addition to training officials through schools, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty offered positions to those who passed tests in five books, and an oral examination in government policy." Those who took such oral examination were required to answer questions about government policies at three different levels. Their answers to such questions were later evaluated to determine their qualifications for official positions at all levels. After passing preliminary examinations held by the provincial government, a candidate had to take two or three more tests before a final decision could be made with regard to his selection or rejection. At these tests, the emperor might appear in person to ask some candidates questions about policies. This strict civil service examination system eventually provided the landlord class in the Han Dynasty with an endless flow of talented officials to form the backbone of the government systems at all levels.

Of the candidates who passed examinations, a few of extraordinary intellectual virtuosity and erudition would be directly promoted to Cabinet level positions in the imperial court, and the majority would have to go through a year's probation and evaluation before they could work independently as government officials. If anyone failed to meet the required standard during the probation period, he would be either transferred elsewhere or sent back to the original place of his station. During the Han Dynasty, the probation system applied to both civilian and military officers. After passing the probation period, each of them was required to serve out a term of several years at a post to which he was assigned. According to the recorded history of the Wei and Jin dynasties, every prefectural magistrate and provincial inspector general had to stay at one post for at least 3 years before qualifying for a transfer. It was believed that the Han Dynasty followed the same system, although it left no record for us to confirm it.



## Evaluation, Promotion, Commendation and Punishment

During the Han Dynasty, the government adopted an evaluation and reporting system aimed at promoting or demoting officials. Under this system, their performances were evaluated once a year according to the regulations set by the central government; local government officials were required to report their achievements to the central government by the end of the year. These reports covered a wide range of subjects including taxes, theft, robbery, lawsuits, elections, agriculture, national disasters, population, roads, waterway transportation, irrigation. This system began with the Qin Dynasty and fully developed during the Han Dynasty. According to this system, "by the end of the year, each provincial government is required to send an envoy to report to the central government what has happened in the province during the past year." During the Han Dynasty, provincial officials in charge of this work customarily gathered in the capital of the country sometime in January to pay their tribute to their majesty and to report to him their respective achievements in all fields of work. In addition to this annual routine report, every responsible provincial official was also required to submit a more important report to his majesty once every 3 years. The emperor could also get such reports while on an inspection tour of various provinces throughout the country. This meant that he attached great importance to this work. During the Western Han Dynasty, these reports were usually handled by the prime minister but had to be verified by the imperial censor. The Han Dynasty government system also stipulated that the governor of every province had a duty to obey orders dictated by the central government and to oversee the operation of his subordinate counties; he should insure that each county would get its annual administrative report ready far ahead of his own report to the central government each year. Generally speaking, counties were required to submit their reports to the governor of their province sometime between the autumn and winter so that he could sum them up in a report to be submitted to the central government early the following year. Efficiency reports of this kind were also required of government offices at all levels and of the offices of nine Cabinet ministers. Sometime, his majesty would like to be briefed by his Cabinet officials on what had taken place throughout the country. In the fifth year of Yuanfeng, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty set up an office of the general inspector, directly under the supervision of the imperial censor, to inspect and oversee the operation of 13 provinces and to directly get acquainted with the actual situations there. The general inspector usually returned to the Capital to report his findings to his majesty by the end of the year, which could be used to verify the annual reports submitted by all provincial governors in January. In this manner, the central government opened another avenue to keep itself informed of the latest developments in the country. This reporting system was instituted by the government to evaluate and survey achievements by officials at all levels and to gain a better understanding of what they had done and to encourage them to further improve their performances. This system was backed up by another system designed to promote those who merited commendations and demote others who deserved punishment. During the Han Dynasty, officials who made extraordinary contributions to the

government could jump several grades to high-ranking positions while others who made ordinary contributions would be promoted to the next higher level positions. Usually, such promotions brought higher pay, cash awards and other honors. Officials who were proven inept or found guilty of crimes could be demoted or banished to remote areas. Severe punishment would be meted out to officials who committed crimes. Officials who were found guilty of crimes were banished to frontier regions along with other criminals. Guilty officials could also be dismissed from office, demoted or sentenced to prison terms. Inept officials were often demoted with reduced pay. During the Han Dynasty, the transfer of officials from the local to central level positions was called "entry" and from the central to local positions was dubbed "exit." The transfer from one station to another at the same level was called the "routine changes."

A survey of the Han Dynasty's government employment system also revealed regulations that entitled officials to take home leave, and to retire at a specific age. The regulations also entitled staff officials to take 1 day off following 5 days of work in office, and to take sick leave no more than 3 months at a time. An official would be relieved of his duties provided his sick leave exceeded 3 months unless extended leave was authorized by the higher authorities. Shortly after their parents died, officials were allowed 3 years to mourn their death at their homes. Old or ailing officials were permitted to retire from office and were entitled to pensions. But retired high-ranking officials should be prepared to attend the imperial political meetings and to advise the emperor again if so requested. During the early days of the Han Dynasty, the three highest-ranking officials in the imperial court were required to serve the country for life. But this de facto system of the three highest-ranking officials serving for life was abolished when Prime Minister Wei Xian [7279 6343] was permitted to retire for the reason of poor health and old age in the third year of Emperor Xuan (67 B.C.). At the time of his retirement, he was awarded 100 jin of gold. This retirement system was highly valued by the succeeding rulers in Chinese history for the reason that it could keep bringing fresh blood to the government and retain those politically experienced and eminent retirees as advisors. Cash was donated to each official at his death along with silk fabrics, clothes, utensils, seals and other gifts which were to be buried with the dead. His majesty also made it a tradition to confer on him a posthumous title of honor to be inscribed on the gravestone in a cemetery also granted by the government. If he was a senior official or Cabinet member, he could hand his official title down to his future generations. This was a special privilege enjoyed by high-ranking bureaucrats in the Han Dynasty.

#### Election System Undergoes Changes in the Eastern Han Dynasty

The stringent system adopted by the Han Dynasty to select, evaluate and oversee the government officials was instrumental in insuring the smooth operation of the state machine of the landlord class at that time. But a comprehensive survey of the Western Han Dynasty's personnel selection system must include an assessment of politics at that time which had had direct



impact on the process of selecting candidates for public service. As it was mentioned earlier, no corruption surfaced in the process of selecting candidates for official positions during the period of the first three emperors of the Han Dynasty. Nevertheless, impropriety in the selection of officials gradually broke into the open when Emperor Wu was in power and the country was embroiled in a civil strife, causing serious damage to the economy. Emperor Wu was the first ruler of the Han Dynasty who set up official positions to be filled by martial art experts and later sold them for profits as part of the government revenue. Worse was the fact that the power to select people for government positions gradually fell into the hands of influential local tyrants and landlords, who recommended people for government positions not in terms of their talents or competence and integrity but in terms of their wealth and financial resources. They also used their money to curry favor with those both in and out of the government. Fortunately, at that time, the state machine remained in good shape to resist such temptations and to insure the normal operation of the examination and evaluation system so as to continue to introduce to the government the useful talents it needed. Toward the end of the Western Han Dynasty, two peasant uprisings caused by political corruption plunged the country into disorder. Order was soon restored by Guangwu, first emperor of the Eastern Han Dynasty. Also revived were healthy social practices and the stringent system to select qualified talents for government positions. With the Eastern Han Dynasty entering the later stage of its life, the powerful office holders and their families and landlords began to assert themselves and push the people around again. They used the personnel selection system as a tool to form cliques to serve their private interests and to build up their influence until they could hold sway over the imperial court.

In the first year of Emperor Shun (132 A.D.), General Secretary of the central government Zuo Xiong [1563 7160] suggested that the personnel selection system be strengthened and age limits be placed on candidates for government positions. He did so in an attempt to prevent the selection system from worsening. But the selection system became so rotten that it eventually became a tool to serve only the private interests of local tyrants and landlords and to expand their political influence. An example was that the powerful families which held the three highest-ranking government positions for four generations at that time had had disciples and old subordinates all over the country and could recommend them for any positions as they wished. Their relationships resembled those between a ruler and his close confidants and between fathers and sons. As a result, new clans and new classes emerged in society. The general character of the officials who entered the government service under this system could be reflected in the following remark: "Candidates for civilian positions never read books, and did not stand for the principle of filial piety and integrity; once they were selected, civilian officials became corrupt and generals from noble families were as cowardly as chickens." This corrupt personnel selection system had a disastrous effect on the destiny of the Kingdom of the Eastern Han Dynasty. This system still held sway over the societies of the succeeding Three Kingdoms and Wei and Jin dynasties in which "the children born of the poor families never stood a chance of being selected to serve their country."

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### MOSLEMS OBSERVE RAMADAN; OFFICIAL RECOGNITION GIVEN

#### Moslems in Jinan

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] On 13 August, a vast number of the people of Hui nationality in Jinan jubilantly observed their traditional holy day--Ramadan. Ramadan is a grand festive day celebrated by the people of Hui nationality in our country annually. But when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in their heyday of power, mosques were closed throughout the country, thus depriving the Moslems in our country of their right to observe Ramadan. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," as a result of the thorough implementation of the party's nationalities and religious policies, the mosques have reopened following 14 years of their close, thus enabling the Moslem faithful to jubilantly observe Ramadan again.

On the early morning of 13 August, Moslems brimming with joy visited the homes of their relatives and friends, and exchanged greetings. Some of them even presented tasteful foods which they took following a fasting to the people of Han nationality. At 8 am, the Moslem faithful, both male and female, cheerfully participated in a prayer at the Nanda Mosque decorated with lanterns and colored buntings. Foods were served in the mosque at the end of a fasting.

Before the worshipping service was performed, responsible comrades of the Shandong provincial and Jinan municipal departments concerned with nationalities affairs extended greetings to the masses of Ahong and Hui nationalities during their visit to the Nanda Mosque. Mi Changmao (4717 7022 5399), standing committee member of the National Moslem Association, and Imam of the Nanda Mosque, greeted the visitors on behalf of the Moslem faithful. He called on Moslems in Jinan to study hard, strengthen unity among the people of all nationalities, and make contributions to the four modernizations under the leadership of the party and government.

#### Introduction to Ramadan

Ramadan is one of three major holy days for the Moslem faithful, which falls on 1 October in the Moslem calendar every year (or on 13 August in the world

calendar this year). In China, Ramadan is observed by the people of Hui, Uygur and Kazak nationalities annually. On that day, relatives, friends and neighbors of the Moslem faithful exchanged greetings; households of the Moslem faithful served guests special foods or presented them to friends and relatives as gifts. The government has proclaimed Ramadan a holiday for the aforementioned minority people as a demonstration of respect for their tradition and customs.

#### Moslems in Guangzhou, Tianjin

Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 11

[13 August News Report by ZHONGGUO XINWEN from Beijing]

[Text] On 13 August, over 1,000 Moslems gathered at the Huaishengguang Mosque to jubilantly mark their traditional holy day--Ramadan.

At nearly 8 am, these well-dressed Moslem worshippers participated in a prayer led by the imam of the mosque clad in white turban and robe, with their heads facing the mihrab which marks the direction of Mecca. Later, after exchanging greetings in the mosque, they went to Guihuagang or north part of Beijing to pay homage to their ancestors at their graves.

In addition to Moslems living in Guangzhou, other participants in the observation of Ramadan at the Huaishengguang Mosque were muezzins from Xinjiang, Hong Kong and Macao. On the morning of 13 August, Chen Yilin [7115 0122 2651], Liao An [1675 1344] and other responsible persons of the Guangdong Provincial and Guangzhou Municipal Committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Guangdong Provincial and Guangzhou Municipal Nationalities Affairs Committees arrived at the mosque to extend greetings to the Moslems who gathered there. Thousands of Moslems in Tianjin Municipality gathered to observe Ramadan at their newly remodelled mosque on 13 August.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BLUEPRINT FOR A NEW XIZANG GIVEN BY ACTING CCP SECRETARY

Beijing MINZU TUANJIE [NATIONALITY UNITY] in Chinese No 7, 15 Jul 80  
pp 2-8

[Article by Yin Fakang [7113 3127 1660], acting first secretary of the Xizang Autonomous Region CCP Committee: "Strive Hard for a United, Prosperous, and Civilized New Xizang"]

[Text] Xizang is an inseparable part of the sacred territory of the motherland and is a nationality autonomous region of a particularly important nature. The people of the Xizang nationality are diligent, sincere, honest, intelligent, and brave. Historically, they opened up the Xizang Plateau with their own intelligence and strength, and played an important role in the formation and development of all nationalities in China.

However, owing to the cruel exploitation and oppression by the reactionary serf-owning class in the past, the economy and culture of old Xizang for a long time was in a state of extreme backwardness, the life of the laboring people was exceedingly poor, and the population was shrinking year by year.

With the peaceful liberation of Xizang, especially after the reforms that were made after putting down the rebellion, a million serfs stood up and became the masters of Xizang, and earth-shaking changes occurred in the social system. In the past 30 years, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the party committee of the autonomous region and party organizations at all levels in the region have led the broad ranks of party members, cadres, and the PLA stationed in Xizang, of both the Tibetan and Han nationalities, to mobilize and organize the masses of people of the Tibetan and all other nationalities, to unite the Xizang patriotic democratic figures, to build up Xizang, to defend the border, to uphold the unity of the nationalities, and to guard the unity of the motherland. In this they have achieved great results and made great contributions. However, owing to the extremely backward base left from history, especially the 10 years of turmoil caused by the disturbance

and destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as certain deficiencies and mistakes in our work, as of now, in Xizang the development of agricultural, animal husbandry, and industrial production is still very slow, culture and education are very backward, and the life of the masses is very poor.

The Party Central Committee shows extreme solicitude for the Tibetan people and attaches great importance to the work in Xizang. After the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Central Secretariat held a special forum on work in Xizang that clearly put forward the central tasks, the struggle objectives, and an eight-point policy for work in Xizang under the new historical conditions. Soon afterward, Comrade Hu Yaobang, secretary general of the CCP Central Committee; Comrade Wan Li, secretary of the CCP Central Committee Secretariat and vice premier of the State Council; Comrade Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee; Comrade Yang Jingren, vice chairman of the CPPCC and deputy director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee; and Comrade Zhao Chenqing [6392 6591 3237], deputy director of the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee, personally inspected the Xizang Plateau and directed work there. Comrade Hu Yaobang concretely put forward six big issues that Xizang needs to resolve now and in the future. Comrade Wan Li also issued many instructions that clearly pointed out the direction Xizang should take to further advance from poverty to prosperity.

The central tasks and struggle objectives put forward by the Party Central Committee for Xizang Autonomous Region under the new historical conditions are: With the Tibetan cadres and people given first place, strengthen the unity among cadres and people of all nationalities; bring every positive factor into play; starting with the actual conditions, heal by every means the wounds inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"; develop the national economy; raise the material living standard and the cultural and scientific standard of all nationalities; construct the border areas; strengthen the border defenses; and, in a planned and orderly way, make Xizang flourish and develop, thrive and prosper.

The policies, tasks, and struggle objectives put forward by the Party Central Committee, as well as the call to build a united, prosperous, and civilized new Xizang, fully accord with the realities of Xizang and fully reflect the fundamental interests of the people of every nationality in Xizang. They are the concrete embodiment in Xizang of the party's general line and general task in the new era, and are also a powerful weapon for our party in solving nationality problems now and for a long time in the future. This battle task is a glorious historical mission given by the Party Central Committee to the people of all nationalities in Xizang. Striving hard to realize this objective is of extremely important significance for step by step realizing practical equality, economically and culturally, between the Tibetan and Chinese nationalities, for effecting a further close relationship between the party and the Tibetan people, for building a powerful modern socialist state, and for victoriously carrying out the international struggle.



# 1. Emancipate the Mind and Relax Policies To Make the People of All Nationalities in Xizang Prosperous As Soon As Possible

The party's ideological line is the theoretical basis in formulating the political line, and is also the fundamental guarantee for the execution and implementation of the political line. In order to fulfill and realize in the work in Xizang the central tasks and struggle objectives and to build a united, prosperous, and civilized new Xizang, first of all we must emancipate the mind, correct the ideological line, uphold dialectical materialism, arrange the work in Xizang around the implementation of the Party Central Committee's important directives, conscientiously supplement the lesson on discussion of the truth criterion, keep in touch with reality, and relentlessly criticize the ultraleft, thereby freeing the people's minds from the shackles of the ultraleft line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

At present, there are very many problems in ideological theory that urgently await solution. We must grasp the key points and solve the problems that are blocking our advance and that most urgently require solution. An important problem that, first of all, is worth bringing up is whether we can seek truth from facts and in everything start from reality. Such being the case, the greatest reality at present in Xizang, speaking of the autonomous region as a whole, can be summarized in one word, viz, poverty. We should have the courage to dare to face this reality, dare to admit backwardness, dare to admit poverty. The premise for curing poverty is to admit poverty. Only by frankly admitting poverty can we cure poverty by all possible measures. At the same time, we must solve the problem of daring to possess wealth. In the past, one kind of thinking always linked poverty to socialism, wealth to capitalism. Without a doubt, this viewpoint that fears wealth, fears becoming too conspicuous is mistaken. Under the premise of maintaining the course set by socialism, to create wealth by labor is glorious, and we should dare to possess wealth. We must thoroughly criticize the fallacies of false socialism advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," viz, the "transition through poverty" and the "eating of messhall food," and truly clarify what is socialism and what is capitalism. To maintain public ownership of the means of production, to maintain distribution according to work, and to not allow exploitation are socialism. For the masses of peasants and herdsmen to work to create wealth is certainly not capitalism. Starting from the reality that the commodity economy of Xizang is not very developed--speaking of the situation as a whole--it is fundamentally useless to worry about capitalism. If we fear wealth then we cannot cure poverty.

We must get a clear understanding of the goals of socialism. The goals of our production are not to learn from Daqing and Dazhai, to reach the target set by the national program for agricultural development, and to fill up the blank spaces, and also are not to get more bonuses by fulfilling directives, tasks, and plans, but are to satisfy the Tibetan people's needs in their material and cultural life. We cannot again seek underserved reputations and do stupid things that invite disaster.



We must see that Xizang is different from the interior of our country, and also is different from other minority nationality regions. We must study the particularity of this contradiction, and make clear the specific and general nature of the dialectical relationship. We should firmly establish the practice in Xizang of starting everything from reality and looking at everything from the viewpoint of the people of Xizang. In our handling of agriculture, animal husbandry, transportation, commerce, culture, education, and every other construction undertaking in Xizang, we should see whether it is of benefit to the people of every nationality in Xizang, whether it meets their requirements. Whatever is of benefit to the people of Xizang and is welcomed by them should be conscientiously done: if it does not satisfy their needs and is not welcomed by them and yet is done obstinately, then we will become separated from the masses and will not have the viewpoint of the masses. To do things well requires good intentions, but good intentions by themselves will not do, as it is still necessary to conform to reality. Otherwise, good intentions can lead to doing bad things. Therefore, only by having a correct ideological line can we advance steadily in the correct direction toward changing poverty into wealth.

In order to enrich the masses as quickly as possible, we must start with the reality in Xizang, and for all economic problems put into effect specific and flexible policies. Starting from the present circumstances of the masses' poverty, the policies should certainly be liberalized, liberalized, and again liberalized. By using the party's policies to mobilize the enthusiasm for socialism of the broad masses of peasants and herdsmen, a powerful and dynamic production force will be created. Only by putting our policies on the right track and adopting them to local conditions can there be a big increase in output, and by adding science to the equation, there can be a huge increase in output.

Starting with 1980, throughout the autonomous region for 2 years there will be an exemption from agricultural and animal husbandry taxes; and the state monopoly on purchasing, marketing, and distribution of agricultural, animal husbandry, and sideline products will be abolished. The state's adoption of the method of discussion and barter in its purchasing, on the voluntary basis of the masses, will encourage the peasants and herdsmen to sell to the state more surplus agricultural, animal husbandry, and sideline products. Eliminating formal exactions, abolishing all added burdens, not practicing any equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources, the state, from now on, when running each construction undertaking, when employing the labor and draft animal force of the commune and production team that is really necessary, will adopt the method of contracts, giving reasonable remuneration. Exempt from industrial and commercial taxes will be agricultural, animal husbandry, and handicraft industry products; the handicraft industry of the commune, production team, and individual; and the small trader's, peddler's, and individual commune member's sales and exchanges in the market. Road tolls will not be levied on tractors and motor vehicles used for agriculture and animal husbandry at the county, district, commune, and production team levels.

We must fully respect the right to stand on their own feet of the production team, the work team, and the household. From now on, the autonomous region will adopt a comprehensive balanced method, from top to bottom, in formulating production plans, and will not again have production output and planting plans in which orders are transmitted to lower levels. Every production team and work team will, according to their local natural conditions and the requirements of society, arrange their own crop planting. What is suited to be planted will be planted, what is desired to be planted will be planted. Where there are production measures to be taken, the decision on them will be left to the production team, the work team, and even the household itself. We must not resort to coercion and commandism, we must not give arbitrary and impracticable orders. The production team has the right to decide itself the distribution level, thus abolishing the past maximum quotas for distribution. The labor force, the financial capacity, and the goods and materials of the production team, work team, and household are protected by laws and must not be subject to equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources or subject to seizure.

We must establish and perfect every form of the production responsibility system and strengthen labor management. Every place can organize work teams on a temporary and seasonal basis; can divide the work teams on a yearly basis and link output to the calculation of remuneration; and can also try out the method of "major responsibility for a task" and other methods that please the masses. With regard to livestock that are inconvenient for the collective to manage, the method of having the commune members take care of them and sharing the work proportionately can be adopted. If the scope of the production team is too large--its members living far apart and management being inconvenient--it can, based on the wishes of the masses, appropriately divide the work into smaller bits, normally 20 to 30 households being most suitable.

Poor communes, poor production teams, and isolated households in remote fringe areas, after receiving permission from the county people's government, and under the premise of not changing the system of collective ownership, are allowed to have "grain ration fields" and household production contracts. Individual communes and production teams where for many years production has not risen and where the life of the masses is extremely poor can, if the masses really demand it and the county people's government approves, temporarily withdraw from participation on the mutual aid teams, and at a suitable time again take the path of collectivism.

We vigorously encourage and energetically support the management by commune members of private plots and privately owned livestock, privately owned trees, and privately owned hills and the development by commune members of household sideline production. The private plots must be reserved according to regulations. Privately owned livestock must be handled by the household. Under the premise of not affecting collective production, the commune members can raise whatever livestock they want and in whatever quantity they want. The number and breed are not limited. Moreover, the commune members are permitted to plant forest trees and fruit trees in front and in back of their houses; commune members are permitted to plant forests at places designated by the production team.

Whoever plants owns whatever he plants. No matter for whatever reason, the commune member's private timber and fruit trees that had been taken by the collective in the past must be resolutely returned to him. The commune and production team also can, based upon concrete circumstances, transfer to every commune member household a fixed amount of barren hills, barren slopes, and barren banks where trees and grass can be planted for the household's long-term use, and the income therefrom will go to the individual household. Commune members are permitted and encouraged to engage in all sorts of household sideline production and handicraft industry. Craftsmen are permitted to practice their craft by traveling from one village to another. Commune members' products and income from practicing the "four retentions and one auxiliary" system will not be subject to allotment and purchasing assignments and will not be subject to collective distribution.

Every prefecture and all counties, communes, and production teams must start from what is of benefit to economic development and the people's life, and, based on natural laws and objective economic laws, determine their own production policies that are suited to local conditions, adjusting well the overall arrangements for agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline, and fishery production, tapping new sources of production, giving priority to one enterprise, and developing in an allround manner.

Every place must vigorously support and encourage communes and production teams to fully utilize their local natural resources, to develop commune-run enterprises, to develop sideline occupations, to develop the transport service among the people, and to develop nationality handicraft industries. Communes and production teams are permitted to establish direct contacts with the outside; conclude contracts; contract for processing agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry, and sideline products; and contract for transportation, capital construction, and other production projects. They are permitted to open restaurants, inns, inns with sheds for carts and animals, repair shops, and other service trades. They are permitted to directly sell and exchange their own handicraft industry products and their local and special products.

The ban on country fair trade is lifted. Each county and district can, viewing its own concrete circumstances, organize at designated points country fair trade and commodity interflow meetings. The commune, production team, work team, and household have the right to sell their agricultural, animal husbandry, and sideline products at county fairs, and are permitted to barter foodgrain, oils from crops, and livestock at the county fairs. They are permitted to distribute some commodities wholesale to the collective management, and individual small commodity buying and selling from village to village is permitted.

Product exchange between peasants and herdsmen, town and county is encouraged. Based on the wishes of the masses, the former mediums and habitual forms of exchange will be restored, thereby handling well the exchange of agricultural and animal husbandry products, salt and grain.

Every place can, based on the wishes of the masses, gradually transfer the rural basic-level supply and marketing cooperative to the people's commune, forming the commercial organization and the supply and marketing department of the people's commune, putting into effect a system of independent accounting.

Commodity price departments and commercial departments must uphold the principle of no loss and no gain, and maintain the principle of relative stability of commodity prices, again examining and revising the purchasing and selling prices of commodities, particularly of the production materials and livelihood materials that concern peasants and herdsmen, and adjusting prices that are unreasonable. Buying and selling must be fair. The purchasing of the sideline products of the masses of peasants and herdsmen must be on the basis of determining the price according to quality with high prices for high quality. It is definitely not permitted to force prices down step by step or to pocket part of what should be paid. The valuable medicinal herbs and hides gathered and bagged by the commune members should be sold to the state, and when necessary, after approval is granted, floating prices can be put into practice.

Starting from the requirements of production and of the life of the masses, trade with the outside is to be vigorously developed. Departments concerned and prefectures in the autonomous region must pay special attention to the trade of people living along the border, fully make use of the advantageous conditions of border areas, open up former channels, establish new channels, vigorously organize the supply of goods, support the principle of mutual benefit to the masses, and energetically develop border trade.

The industrial production of our region must also proceed from the reality in Xizang and be adjusted accordingly. The adjustment is not to be one of not developing but of developing, especially the energetic development of transportation, hydroelectricity, and nationality handicraft industry. Some factories and enterprises must be closed down and transferred, must be cut back, must be dismantled. Not all industry must be cut back or dismantled; the cutbacks and dismantling now are for their improvement and restoration in the future.

The thorough implementation of these specific and dynamic economic policies will surely be warmly welcomed by the broad masses of Tibetans, will surely greatly mobilize their enthusiasm for production, but they also might encounter some resistance, some new problems might emerge, and it might be necessary to do a great amount of work. Owing to the lack of experience, it is normal that a few problems will arise. We must strengthen investigation and study, sum up experience in time, and do our work well with one heart and one mind. We can see that only by unswervingly carrying out these policies that enjoy immense popular support can we bring about in the economic development of our region within a fairly short time comparatively marked successes.



## 2. Improve Nationality Relations, Strengthen Nationality Unity

Xizang is a minority nationality autonomous region composed mainly of Tibetans. Tibetans make up over 85 percent of the region's total population. Compared with other fraternal autonomous regions, Xizang is a relatively special autonomous region with a great many distinguishing features in natural conditions, geographical environment, nationality traits, and economic structure. From beginning to end we must attach great importance to the great questions of firmly carrying out the party's nationality policy, of maintaining close relations with all nationalities, and of strengthening the unity of all nationalities; this is the key to the success or failure of all our work.

Since the peaceful liberation of Xizang, and after the democratic reform and the socialist transformation, the class sources of nationality oppression and nationality discrimination have basically been wiped out. Therefore, the statement that "the nationality problem is in essence a class problem" is mistaken. This formulation can only cause confusion and misunderstanding in nationality relations. Nationality is a problem that falls within the category of history, and its process is one of emerging, developing, and dying out. Under different historical conditions, the essentials and tasks of the nationality problem are different. Under socialism, the people of every nationality become the masters of the state, and among them are established brand-new relationships. The fundamental task confronting us in nationality relations is to gradually solve the existing problems left over by history of the factual inequality in economics and culture of every nationality. In dealing with the nationality problem, to rashly cut off the nationalities from their historical legacy and say it is a problem of class struggle not only cannot strengthen nationality unity but also must necessarily give our foreign and domestic enemies an opportunity they can exploit to their advantage. This is what our Tibetan comrades must fully understand, and they absolutely cannot be careless about it.

We must, under the unified leadership of the central authorities, exercise the autonomous power of regional self-government. If there is no full self-government by the nationality, then there will be no measures suited to local conditions. If there is no full self-government by the nationality, then there will be no great unity of all the people of the country. Unity and centralism are closely related to nationality region self-government, and this dialectical relationship must be handled well. Speaking of the present conditions in Xizang, to overlook nationality traits and be separated from the reality in Tibet is the main erroneous tendency in our work. That leadership work style and work method that is subjective, one-sided, vaguely generalized, and is done at one stroke, that work experience that is blindly and rigidly spread to other areas, the practice of subjectivism, the forcing of one's will onto other people, the work style of not respecting, to the point of abolishing, the autonomous power of minority nationalities have already created serious consequences for the work in Xizang. From now on, we must, according to the

directive from the central authorities and the special characteristics of Xizang, formulate relevant work policies and tasks and give concrete guidance. All decisions and measures must first of all be truly and wholeheartedly consented to and supported by the Tibetan people. If they are not, then they will be revised or put off. In order to integrate well the line and the general and specific policies formulated by the central authorities with the reality of Xizang, we will decide work policies based on actual conditions and fully exercise the autonomous power of the nationality region.

We must strengthen the construction of the autonomous organs of the nationality region, and, starting from the reality in Xizang, do good legislative work. The autonomous region's people's congress, along with its standing committee, is the organ of power, under the unified leadership of the central authorities, in the nationality region, and is the major mechanism for fully exercising the right of making independent decisions. The autonomous region's people's congress, based on the PRC constitution and the relevant laws, decrees, rules and regulations of the state, on the basis of investigation and study and starting from the actual circumstances in Xizang, formulates the laws, decrees, and rules for Xizang in politics, economics, culture, education, hygiene, nationality, and civil administration. It protects by laws the just rights of the Tibetan people in social life and in economic and cultural life.

We must regularly educate the party members, cadres, PLA officers and men, staff and workers, and the masses in the party's nationality policy, decisively overcoming or preventing Han chauvinism and also preventing local-nationality chauvinism. From now on, there will be regular checkups every year on the implementation of the nationality policy in which achievements will be displayed and mistakes corrected, thereby solving the existing problems concerning the nationalities and doing away with all factors not advantageous to nationality unity. At present we must pay special attention to: 1) Vigorously training the cadres of the Tibetan and other minority nationalities to gradually take over, with the Tibetan cadres as the main component, the party, government, and mass organizations at the county level and above in the autonomous region. We must boldly promote them, give them a free hand, enthusiastically help them, and give them concrete guidance so that they have position, power, and responsibility and fully play their roles. At the same time, we must be solicitous toward their life and solve their difficulties. 2) We must earnestly carry on and develop the nationality's culture, respecting the use of the Tibetan written and spoken language, respecting each nationality's customs and habits.

The official communications of the party and government organs of the autonomous region must be in both the Tibetan and Han scripts, and we must train translating personnel and perfect the translating and printing mechanisms. Han cadres must study the Tibetan written and spoken language, and the nationality cadres must first of all learn well the script of their own nationality while studying the Han written and spoken language. We



must choose effective measures to gradually make elementary school education universal, eliminate illiteracy in the Tibetan language, transform elementary schools run by the local people into public ones, and make a great effort to run well county and district post-elementary schools and county middle schools. We must vigorously make arrangements for universities. Every large special academy and school and middle-level vocational school should principally enroll students from the Tibetan nationality and from the Monba, the Lopa, and other minority nationalities in order to train qualified specialists for building up Xizang. We must vigorously develop enterprises of a nationality, scientific, and mass nature in culture, education, medicine, and hygiene. We must carry on and develop Tibetan medicine, Tibetan medicinal herbs, and the Tibetan calendar and meteorology. We must carry on with the system of free medical treatment and free film viewing for the masses and students of every nationality. 3) In recruiting workers and enrolling students, we must insure that the proper quotas for the Tibetan nationality and the other minority nationalities are maintained. Industrial and communications, financial, and commercial, cultural and educational, hygienic, and scientific research units must all take in as many as possible Tibetan cadres and Tibetan staff and workers in order to train a contingent of nationality intellectuals and nationality staff and workers.

We must comprehensively implement the party's religious policy. Belief in Lamaism has a long history and has had profound and lasting effects on the people of Xizang, and it must be treated with care. While respecting the normal religious activities of the religious masses, we must also vigorously carry out ideological and political work, science, culture, and education, among them. The present monasteries and temples must be protected and maintained; with regard to those lamas who study and who have chalked up scholarly attainments in the Buddhist and other religious scriptures, as long as they are patriotic, they should be treated as intellectuals. We must let them play their proper role in carrying on and developing the excellent cultural heritage of the Tibetans. Lost or damaged Tibetan cultural artifacts should be recovered, protected, and put in order.

We must earnestly do well in the work of uniting, educating, and remolding the high-level patriotic figures in nationality religion. In politics we show concern for them, in life we give them proper consideration. We give them opportunities to learn from and do good deeds for the people, thereby consolidating the development of the revolutionary, patriotic united front.

We must get a good grip on the work of redressing grievances, trumped-up cases, and miscarriages of justice and of solving the important problems left over by history; realistically redressing the problems of the magnification of the scope of putting down the rebellion and of mistakes in demarcating the rich peasant status.

We must continue to publicize and carry out the party's and the people's government's policy concerning Tibetan compatriots residing abroad, viz., "all patriots belong to one big family, whether they rally to the cause early or late, let bygones be bygones, meritorious deeds will be rewarded, and they are free to come and go." We welcome Tibetan compatriots residing abroad, including the Dalai Lama, to return to their country in order to visit their relatives and friends, sightsee, or settle down. No matter when they come, we will welcome and warmly receive them.

In a word, we stress the unity of all nationalities in Tibet, especially the unity between the Tibetans and the Hans. No matter what nationality and no matter where it comes from, we must cherish nationality unity as we cherish our own eyes, and truly speak and do what is advantageous to nationality unity. Those who mistakenly express opinions that are not advantageous to nationality unity must be severely criticized and educated. Behavior that harms nationality unity must be boldly and resolutely curbed. Bad individuals who deliberately sow discord in nationality relations and destroy nationality unity must be dealt a firm blow. The people of all our nationalities must, with the great goal of building a united, prosperous, civilized new Xizang, closely unite, be as close to each other as if they were one flesh and blood, have brotherly love for each other, and never separate to their dying day.

### 3. Carry On the Revolutionary Tradition of Building an Enterprise Through Arduous Effort, Wholeheartedly Handle Affairs Well for the People of Xizang

The task of building a united, prosperous, civilized new Xizang is extremely formidable. Without arduous labor and great effort, this grand goal cannot be attained and this glorious task cannot be accomplished. In the past 30 years, the revolution and the construction in Xizang have always received great help from the state and have always been vigorously supported by the people of all nationalities in the country. In the future, this help and support will still be extremely important and cannot merely depend on the support of the people in the interior, we certainly cannot only be "people who are in the habit of asking the higher level for help." We must use the help of the state and the support of the people of the country to arouse our fighting will to cure poverty and create wealth, substantiating the conditions in this respect. In the initial period after liberation, the PLA and the work personnel who came to Xizang displayed the spirit of revolutionary heroism. On one hand they marched, on the other they built. They climbed snowy peaks, walked across glaciers, and conquered bitter cold, lack of oxygen, hunger, and sickness. They made the mountains bow their heads and the rivers give way, leveled hill-tops to build bridges, built highways, reclaimed and cultivated wasteland, and increased production and practiced economy.

Together with the Tibetan people, they waged arduous struggle, regenerated the region through their own efforts, overcame one difficulty after another that was hard to overcome in this world, and obtained one victory

after another in the revolution and construction of Xizang. Today, compared with the past, there are many more favorable conditions for building a prosperous, flourishing, rich, and strong new Xizang. But it is still necessary to maintain and carry on the fervent, vigorous, death-defying spirit of those years when we marched into, liberated, and built up Xizang, when we suffered greatly, endured hard work, took hard conditions as an honor and a joy, and devoted our intelligence and strength to the cause of rapidly transforming the poverty-stricken features of Xizang.

We must firmly establish the idea of wholeheartedly serving the people of Xizang. Our party's sole purpose is to work for the well-being of the people and do good things for them. The broad masses of party members and cadres in our region want to work for the well-being of, and do good things for, the people, in Xizang. All party members and cadres of every nationality in Xizang must strengthen the transformation of their world outlook and consciously launch a struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology. We must really and fully understand the basic truth that the power we hold was given to us by the people and that we can only use it to work for the people's well-being and certainly cannot use it to work for our private gain. No matter whether he is a Tibetan or Han cadre, no matter whether he is a new or veteran comrade--all of them must pay attention to overcoming and correcting the unhealthy tendency toward subjectivism, bureaucratism, and the special privilege mentality. They must firmly establish the mentality of the masses, maintain close relations with the Tibetan masses, go down to the basic levels at regular intervals, share weal and woe and go through thick and thin with the masses of people of all nationalities, understand and experience and observe their hardships, and always keep their hardships in mind. They must truly think what the masses think, worry about what the masses worry about, help the masses in their needs, be diligent and conscientious, quietly immerse themselves in hard work, be honest in performing their official duties, with all their heart and soul consider the interests of the people, wholeheartedly do many good things for the people of Xizang, and, with the Tibetan cadres in first places triumphantly shoulder the heavy burden of building a new Xizang.

We must further establish the idea of "building up Xizang for a long time and making the borderland our home. The construction of Xizang is a long-term task and is a component part of the construction of our country's four modernizations. Concretely, for each cadre, staff member, and worker who comes to Xizang, the time they serve the people of Xizang is limited, but the development of the construction undertaking in Xizang is limitless. Each comrade who comes to Xizang to work, no matter the length of time he has been in Xizang, should not take a short-term view or feel that he does not belong there, but should feel at home and fight side-by-side with the people of Xizang. The individuals leaving or staying in Xizang must heed the party's summons and be subordinate to the requirements of the revolution. At present, the great majority of cadres, staff and workers who came to Xizang have already completed or are about to complete the construction tasks given to them by the party, and are about to

receive new assignments and take up new posts, gradually being transferred in turn back to the interior of the country. The less time these comrades have been in Xizang the more they should make the best use of their time, do more work, and handle the work at their last post well. In fact, many comrades are even more enthusiastic about and like their work even more than before. At the same time, Xizang also needs a certain number of comrades of the Han and other nationalities to remain and work in Xizang for a long time, and some forces need to be constantly replenished, particularly doctors, teachers, and scientific and technological personnel. This is not a makeshift measure, but is decided by the requirements of the construction undertaking in Xizang. Although the Tibetan cadres are given first place, this definitely does not mean that we do not need cadres of other nationalities. Therefore, looking at the situation strategically and speaking of the situation as a whole, we still must continue to raise loud and clear the slogan "build up Xizang for a long time and make the borderland our homes" and promote the revolutionary spirit of "loving the country and Xizang as we love our homes."

The key to implementing the important directives issued by the Party Central Committee concerning Xizang is to maintain and improve the party's leadership and to increase the party's fighting capacity. We must gradually, with first place given to the Tibetan cadres, do well in building up the leading groups. Party committees at all levels must spare no effort to earnestly study, publicize, put into effect, and implement the directives of the central authorities. They must study new conditions, solve new problems, strengthen political and ideological work, and strengthen the party's organizational discipline. Party committees at all levels and every Communist Party member must be promoters in emancipating the mind and men of action in implementing the directives of the central authorities.

In the previous 30 years, in order to "plant the five-starred red flag on top of the Himalayas and let the flowers of freedom and prosperity bloom all over Xizang," we, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, have victoriously completed the glorious mission of marching into and liberating Xizang and of laying the initial foundation for the construction of Xizang. Today, the Party Central Committee has issued the battle mobilization order to build a prosperous, flourishing, rich, and strong new Xizang, and once again in history a great march has begun in Xizang.

Let us, on this new historical march, unite as one, work in full cooperation and with one heart, inspire revolutionary enthusiasm, and struggle arduously. This year we must seize the key points, steadily and surely do several good things, win the confidence of the people, lay a good foundation, strive within 2 or 3 years to reverse the impoverished situation of the people in Xizang, surpass in 5 to 6 years the highest level of the past 30 years, become in 10 years prosperous on a comparatively large scale, and struggle hard for a united, prosperous, and civilized new Xizang.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### WORKS OF GRAPHIC ARTIST PROFILED

OWO10744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 1 Oct 80

[Text] Beijing, 1 October (XINHUA)--Powerful realism is shown at a display of woodcuts by China's leading graphic artist Gu Yuan that opens here at the National Art Gallery today.

On exhibit are 100 woodcuts (1939-1980) and 90 paintings in watercolors (1953-1980). They represent the artist's style, technique and themes in various stages of his career.

To support the exhibition, the national journal "ART RESEARCH" in its current issue carries a chronological table of Gu Yuan's works and two articles praising the "conciseness, grace and warmth" the artist has achieved in his woodcuts. "He possesses a power that turns Yenan's crude yellow soil into gold, and this comes from his revolutionary zeal and genius," wrote Li Qun, also a leading graphic artist of modern China.

The woodcut display includes "Carrying Fodder" (1940), one of Gu Yuan's graduation works as an art student in Yenan, which drew the attention of the well-known painter Xu Beihong; "At the District Government Office" (1943), showing the close ties between cadres and masses in the liberated areas; "Lowering Rents" (1943), featuring a peasants' meeting where farmhands settle accounts with a landlord; "Human Bridge" (1947), on the People's Liberation Army's advance under heavy enemy fire; "Revival of Anshan" (1949), depicting new China's early effort to build an iron and steel complex; "Jade Belt Bridge" (1962), demonstrating his excellent skill in portraying water, gently flowing and crystal clear.

"Visit to My Old Peasant Host" (1963) and "I Remember Yenan" (1978) recall old time intimacy between army and people. Among the new paintings are "Vietnam Refugees" done in 1979 and "Bringing the Sweet to the People" (1979), a gift to a foreign friend.

A primary school teacher in Guangdong Province, 19-year-old Gu Yuan travelled a long way from South China to Yenan in the north to take a direct part in the communist-led revolution. He painted wall pictures

and did woodcuts, telling how the workers and peasants were smashing the old world and building the new worker-peasant regime. His works cover all kinds of subjects in the daily life of the people, from the new marriage law to land reform, from fighting drought to collecting manure. There are beautiful landscapes imbued with the joy and sorrow of the people. The Chinese peasant, awakening from a long history of oppression, stands out as a central figure in his art.

Gu Yuan directed the graphic arts department at the Central Institute of Fine Arts in 1958 and is now vice president of the Chinese Graphic Artists Association.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

XIZANG LANGUAGE SCIENCE PUBLICATION--China's first publication printed in Xizang language--was inaugurated in Lhasa recently. The inaugural issue of this publication contains detailed information on enormous energy resources in Xizang--solar energy, geothermal energy, and abundant hydroelectric power resources--and prosperous animal husbandry, and some well-known medical herbs. Also included in that issue were a number of articles dealing with subjects of production and human interest, which were accompanied by pictures. This scientific paper is published by the Xizang Autonomous Regional Society of Science and Technology for the benefit of cadres, scientists, technicians, workers, and herdsmen in Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, and Yunnan Provinces in addition to Tibet Autonomous Region. [Text] [Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 14 Aug 80 p 9] 9574

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